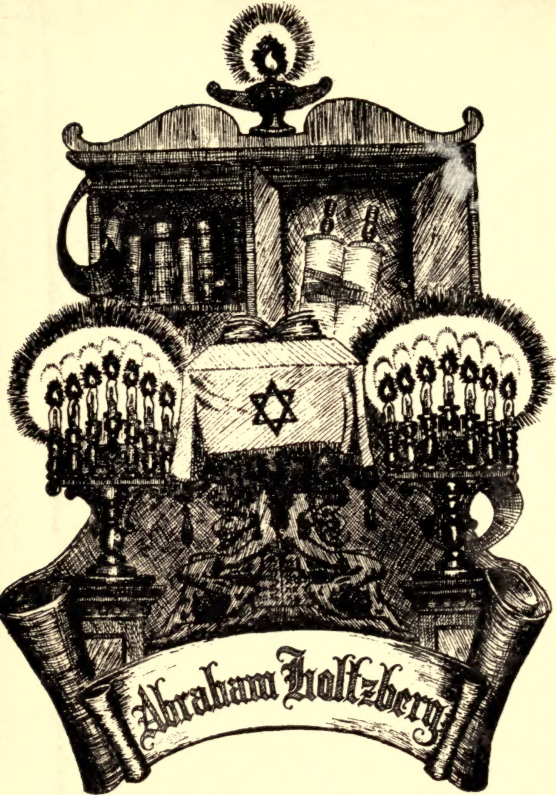


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Free Synagogue Pulpit

Sermons and Addresses

by

Stephen S. Wise

Volume IV

1916-1917

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Contents

	PAGE
I. INSTALLATION EXERCISES OF DR. A. CRONBACH	1
Addresses by Rabbi Cronbach, Dr. Lee K. Frankel,	
Dr. James M. Whiton, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein,	
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.	
II. SHALL WE PAY THE PRICE OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE?.....	29
III. AMERICAN ISRAEL AND DEMOCRACY.....	45
IV-V. HOW TO FACE LIFE.....	57
1. "YOUTH: Preparing for Life."	
2. "MATURITY: How to Serve and Achieve."	
3. "AGE: How not to Grow Old."	
VI. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.....	89
VII. THE WORLD WAR FOR HUMANITY.....	101
VIII. CAN WE WIN THE WAR WITHOUT LOSING AMERICA?.....	121
IX. NO JEWS NEED APPLY.....	137
X. WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.....	151

Shall We Pay the Price of Industrial Peace?

The phrasing of my theme was suggested about a year ago by the title of an earnest discussion of so-called industrial peace. The author made the obvious and yet striking statement that there will be little manhood in men who accept benefits at the price of submission, and that when Circe changed warriors into swine, she fed them well but their tragedy was that they liked it. If men imagine that industrial peace obtains today, I wish they might have been present at a hearing about a fortnight ago before the House of Representatives Committee on Military Affairs, when the question of military preparedness was frankly discussed. There was something grave and even ominous in the manner in which some leaders of the organized toilers of the land protested against the crime of preparing to call on them to defend that which they called largely indefensible,—namely, the present industrial order. If the nation could have listened to the passionate protest of these labor leaders against much that is suffered to obtain in the world of industry, they would have understood the cry of the ancient prophet who warned against those that delude themselves into the comfortable faith of “peace, peace when there is no peace.”

As we today ask the question whether we shall pay

the price of industrial peace, we are brought face to face with three types of men. Some are unwilling to pay any price for industrial peace because they believe that peace obtains, or that, even if there be slight intimations of unrest, peace may always be had at a price, at their price, at a price to be named and dictated by them,—the price to be paid through the medium of policemen, strike-breakers, the militia, the regular army and all those instrumentalities which are commonly known as agents of law and order. In the second group are to be found those who are willing to pay a price for industrial peace but they stop short of being willing to pay the price. They are in a sense ready to pay the soup-kitchen price, the charity price, the so-called social welfare price, forgetting, as it were, the reverse of Edmund Burke's maxim that there must be some proportion between the thing to be secured and the price to be paid.

I do not deny that it is easy enough to continue peace outwardly, to maintain the surface-aspect of peace provided we are willing to endure wrong or to be parties to the further duping of the wronged. Too many men, though not all, persist in employing charity as an agency through which to assure the continuance of the reign of outward peace in the industrial world. Their attitude is not unrelated to that of the Mexican government which celebrated the jubilee of the reign of Mexico's then Czar-President by clapping its starved and half-naked beggars into jail in order that visitors might not be appalled by the spectacle of unrelieved poverty. Apparently no one thought of marking the joyous commemoration by seeking to inaugurate an era of justice to the oppressed. The easier

way was to put away,—and for a time in any event keep,—from the sight of strangers the results of a manifestly unjust industrial order. And officialism was content to half-feed the starvelings over the week or fortnight of national celebration lest their appearance shock the consciences of witnesses.

When in 1898 the German Kaiser visited Palestine, it was determined to give the town of Jaffa a more reputable appearance. All the beggars, the maimed, the halt and the blind, were told that if they would report at the municipal offices they would be given a two-days' allowance of "backshish." The indescribably wretched host came in full force and were promptly locked up until the Imperial visitor had gone. It is with impatience that one recalls the meanness and the littleness of such a procedure. And yet, this act is of a piece with some so-called charity,—though not by any means all charity,—which is the only price that some men are ready to pay for outward peace among toiling men.

The last perhaps the largest group consists of those men who will not pay any price for industrial peace. They and their ways are delineated in most significant and impressive fashion in Hauptmann's classic drama, "The Weavers," the production of which at this time in the spirit of dignity and beauty by a company of artist-players is a service alike to letters and to life. As has well been said, it is hard to tell which one admires more in "The Weavers," the greatness of Hauptmann as an artist or his greatness of soul. Hauptmann pictures the attitude of the masters in industry of an earlier generation who were loath to pay any price for peace.

As I viewed the half-empty theatre in which "The Weavers" is played, one of the most artistic and powerful dramas of many years, a production lifted almost to the level of greatness by the sincerity of the artists not less than by the power of the play, I was saddened in truth by the thought that almost any cheap and stupid and banal theatrical performance may count its patrons by the thousands and tens of thousands. What has come over the manner of our dreams that we are suffering the life of America to be corroded, lightly to be movie-ized and Vernon-Castle-ized and Chaplin-ized into such vulgarity of taste and depravity of spirit as make us blind to beauty and deaf to nobleness and drunk with passion for the cheap and the vulgar, the filthy and the obscene!

The status of the weavers cries out with the tongue of angels, though the weavers be goaded for a time to use the weapons of the devil, as against the immemorial wrongs and oppressions of the toilers among women and men. But Hauptmann is too consummate an artist to offer a solution of the problem that he has outlined. He has painted an unforgettable series of pictures,—such as Millet might have painted. He preaches no moral. The truth he tells is more impressive and direct than any moralizing cant in which a lesser artist might have been tempted to indulge.

The picture as Hauptmann paints it in "The Weavers" offers us the choice of justice or war. Industrial war will be unless the causes of war are removed. If things are better today than they were a century ago in Silesia at the time of the introduction of machinery, it is because the weavers have arisen, it is as Hauptmann indicates because the workers, be-

come conscious of the wrongs inflicted upon them, have organized in order together and unafraid to seek the right which is their own. There is yet another touch of genius in the play. Whenever the workers dare to complain to the mill-owner, he sharply replies "See my agent." The agent or manager is seen to stand like an impassable barrier between the two men who, after the introduction of machinery, are become master and man. With the penetration of the seer, Hauptmann senses the tragedy that has happened in that the introduction of machinery signified not only the passing of the tools of the handiworker but the transformation,—shall we not say debasement,—of the worker and the master alike into impersonal machines, into cogs in the great, pitiless, unhuman wheels of industry.

The church plays a dismal part in "The Weavers." To one who loves the church it is little less than heart-breaking to find that in the midst of an inevitable uprising of the people against their merciless oppressors, the vaguely and apologetically sympathetic rather than aggressively and unsparingly good representative of the church takes his orders from oppression and goes out among the workers not to lead them but to quiet them, not to guide them but to soothe them. One is reminded of the clergymen in one of the mining towns of Colorado who testified not very long ago before a body invested with Federal authority that he was bidden to remember: "You are here to keep the Greeks and Italians down and not to stir them up." And soon after that warning, the President of the mining companies wrote to the controlling financial interests in New York, "We have been thinking of changing the minister." Of the minister who required

to be "changed," a pastor-evangelist of the Presbytery said at the same time, "The present incumbent was preaching Socialism and was unsound in other respects."

Hauptmann is genius enough to make the dismal part of the church touching industrial peace and unrest seem dimpler still as he contrasts the prostitution of the organized church with the purity of men's faith in the Bible, the Bible's word and the Bible's God. With what withering power he pictures the church of God in its relation to the mighty and the privileged as he paints a portrait of one of the masters of industry warning the churchman that the peace of society is being undermined and that this menacing process can be stayed only if the church again preach the pure word of God to the workers, that these were patient, peaceable and easily manageable until roused and infuriated by clerical and other equally disturbing humanitarians.

Much perhaps ought to be said of those who are willing to pay a price rather than the price of industrial peace, for that very considerable group is made up largely of those who neither see nor understand, of those who if they but had the comprehension would have the needed compassion, who if they but grasped the truth would not lightly face the irrepealable facts of social unrest. That this group of the unseeing is not ill-meaning is witnessed by the circumstance that, while they are willing to pay a considerable price, they do not seem to understand that there is wanting a fundamental parity between the thing to be purchased and the price which they are prepared to pay. It is as if a man were gasping for oxygen in a fetid, poison-laden atmosphere and were to shout to the

gods that he was willing to pay the price in silver and gold.

To all men it needs to be made clear not only that they cannot have peace at any price or at a price, not only that they must pay the price,—for pay it they shall in the end,—but that they must be ready to pay the price of industrial peace rather than quiet, accepting a just arrangement because it is just and not as a disagreeable necessity. It is the high privilege of every teacher of religion and morals so to move and enlighten men that they may will to pay nothing less than the price, full, adequate, just. I know that the church may not attempt to solve the problems of industry, but I also know, as an enlightened statesman has said, that the church must create the atmosphere in which the solution becomes possible.

The price of industrial peace is not policemen nor more of them. The price of industrial peace is not charity nor more of it. The price of industrial peace is,—justice nor more nor less. Would that it were possible exactly to lay down the limits of justice, but who can do more than offer an outline or approximation? Who can sketch in veriest detail the content of justice than which no lesser price ought and can be paid for industrial peace? And yet we know that certain things are in the world of industry today that could not persist for an hour if justice obtained, of certain wrongs that would pass with the coming of justice. The justice that is to be paid for industrial peace must insist inflexibly upon the abolition of certain obvious iniquities,—the iniquity of the toiling child, the iniquity of the overworked woman, the iniquity of the underpaid man, the iniquity of work-

lessness of men who will to toil, the iniquity of death-dealing "living" conditions, the iniquity of avertable poverty, the iniquity of the want of democracy in the world of industry.

The only price which instead of justice some men are ready to pay for industrial peace is the suppression of so-called agitators, the silencing of the fomenters of discontent. In answer to the head of one of the greatest industries in the nation who maintains that agitation hurts the nation, be it said that agitation may hurt a lawlessly legalized industry but it may yet save the nation from itself in averting things infinitely direr than agitation. Wendell Phillips was right in implying as he did that if you stop the mouth of agitation revolution will come. Let it not be imagined that we can have peace if only silencing and suppression become the portion of agitators in pulpit and press and in the leadership of the toilers. We are not the makers of unrest. We are no more than its mouthpieces. Not that I should be fearful of being accused of being a fomenter of unrest in a world in which peace is paid for at the price of moral and spiritual death, but it so happens that at best or worst we are no more than the utterers of that which, but for us, might find still more vague and imperfect expression.

The cries of wronged millions cannot be silenced. One pulpit or another may be muzzled, one newspaper or another may be purchased, one magazine or another may be brought under effective control, but the cry of the wronged and the disinherited will be heard at last. One of the best known organs of the masters of industry lately urged that an effective muzzle be put upon the leaders of discontent. Suppress, however effect-

ively, every leader of today ; the morrow will witness the rise of another set of leaders more wrathful and bitter than they who were silenced. Instead of muzzling the mouthpieces of discontent, let us try the experiment of ending the causes of the disease of which discontent is no more than a symptom. The disease of industrial injustice will never be remedied through immuring and silencing the men who are merely vocal of a too long dumb misery.

If we who are not ashamed to bear the name of agitators dare to deal with the privileges of the few we are labelled muck-rakers. If we dare to touch upon the wrongs of the many we are libelled as demagogues. Muck-rakers and demagogues are they styled who will not have less than justice paid as the price of industrial peace. We have been assured times without number that there was no further occasion for muck-raking seeing that there had been enough and too much of investigation and cleansing. Lo and behold the things that have come to light out of the darkness during the past few days. The moment the stone is lifted, however little, which hides from sight the financial operations of the great transportation system of our city, we come upon a lot of crawling, slimy vermin who of course do not like muck-raking, who prefer the security of darkness to the blaze of public light. And these are the men who have told us that the era of muck-raking had passed, that the time had come for constructive service and co-operation. Constructive service, forsooth, by them whose destructive looting is upon such a vast and brazen scale that it defies classification as its perpetrators are almost certain to escape the punishment that ordinarily waits upon the felonious conduct of the unprivileged !

The gentlemen of whose interesting financial operations we have caught a glimpse during the past fortnight are among the men who are not ready to pay the price of industrial peace save as they dictate its terms. What are those terms? The unchallenged domination of that segment of the world of industry which has come under their undemocratic control, mitigated, forsooth, by co-operative stores and Thanksgiving turkeys and Christmas bonuses, the intolerable insult flung by their masters at the head of the workers whom they have degraded into the acceptance thereof! There is, however, this defense to be offered for the heads of the transportation companies: After the losses (or gains) sustained through stock-inflation and manipulation and the maintenance of the pleasantly surprising bonus-system and the buying up of legal brains and consciences, it is no longer possible to humanize the conditions of the workers. In some remote day, we may perhaps dream of doing justice to the workers and then of distributing balances in the form of bonuses.

I charge the heads of the transportation companies of New York with the commission of a threefold wrong; the denial to the workers of the right to organize; second, the payment to the largest number of their workers of a wage which is not a living wage; and third, denying men one day of rest in seven. These men deny to the workers the right to organize, making organization impossible through an effective and relentless system of espionage, touching which I have heard hundreds of complaints during the past years. Not a few of the workers in the underground and overhead railways of our city have said to me, "If it

were known that I was talking to you, I should be discharged at once."

Technically, the companies do not deny the men a right to rest one day in seven, but they pay such a wage that no man with wife and children can afford to take one day of rest in seven. I dare say that ninety per cent and more of the men employed in the transportation companies, and it may be found that ninety-nine per cent is nearer the mark than ninety, work seven days in every week and thirty days in every month, and many have said to me that they are not absent from their work two days in the year. This is unjust, this is inhuman, this is un-American.

As for the wage of the men, citing for example the guards in the Subway, these receive two dollars and ten cents per day during the first year of service with two dollars and forty cents per day as maximum as long as they remain guards. That means twelve dollars and sixty cents per week for six days of work, and fourteen dollars and forty cents per week for the men who receive the higher wage. Let it not be said that this calculation is upon the basis of six days work in the week, for that is the only decent and human calculation, and if it be offered in defence that the men insist upon working seven days in the week, it is because they cannot earn a livelihood in less than seven days. It is alas in part, because seven-day work has unfitted some men for normal and wholesome living. The very worst thing that could be said in defence of the transportation companies is the claim by them made, rarely if ever substantiated by the toilers, that these are satisfied with conditions which impose upon them the inescapable necessity of toiling

seven days in the week and thirty days in every month. If this be true, our city contains an army of men who have ceased to be socially free and self-determining agents, who by the cruel and degrading pressure of an **unregulated industrialism** are being unfitted for citizenship in a democracy.

Insofar as the city is partner in the Subway system,—for we assume most of the obligations and leave virtually all the profits to our partners,—we are guilty of wronging this great company of men. Remote as is our financial stake in the enterprise, we as citizens are involved in the guilt of denying to an army of public servants a wage sufficient for the maintenance of normal and decent family life. And this I hold in the despite of the implicit claim of the Company that, after meeting the huge expense involved in the upkeep of that high type of philanthropy or profit-sharing known as “Company-stores,” and after the payment of not wholly unwelcome bonuses to meagerly remunerated presidents and such other selfless philanthropists as dominate its affairs, the Company devotes its balances to the amelioration of the lot of its happily circumstanced workers.

What can we do? As the fellow-citizens of these workers, it is our office to maintain their right to organize and through organization to make just demands upon the transportation companies which must be supported by us in every possible way. If no other way out can be found, if we their fellow-citizens will not resistlessly support them in the spirit of comradeship and sympathy in their organized and collective demand for those living conditions which include a living wage for six days of work and one day of rest

in seven, then ought these men who labor for us, who are in a sense in our employ, then ought these men to rise up, and, if they must, resort to the instrumentality of the strike. A strike does not and need not mean lawlessness and violence, however lawless ethically have been the conditions which precluded the possibility of any other method of solving an industrial problem. Some members of the Synagogue may say that I am preaching industrial unrest and insurrection. The Free Synagogue may end or my services thereto may be discontinued, but I shall not be denied the right to say that, if the workers in the transportation system of New York are men and not the servile creatures of the gentlemen who enrich themselves with millions by their command of this system, they will arise and insist upon justice and equity in its dealings with them.

And if it become necessary for them to rise,—and such necessity will not be unless the autocratically insolent attitude of the transportation heads be persisted in,—if the workers arise and make their organized and collective demands, we want no college-scabs to take the place of the wronged workers. We would have no repetition of the thing that **happened** some years ago when college strike-breakers were imported from the institutions which are among the more or less privately owned beneficiaries of the gentlemen responsible for the crime of looting at the top and for the crime of injustice at the bottom. If these young gentlemen who some years ago took the place of the cut-throats ordinarily employed in the business of strike-breakers wish to embark upon a striking adventure, let them try the experiment of reading a book or of using their own minds.

I have not been so rash and presumptuous as to urge that a living wage be paid to the men who are building our Subways, the "muckers" as they are called, who up to the time of the recent Subway building accident were in receipt of a daily wage of one dollar and sixty cents or nine dollars and sixty cents for six days of work in the week. Of the contractors in charge of these building operations, Professor Edward T. Devine of Columbia University said in the course of editorial comment in "The Survey": "They are paying a wage on which a homeless hobo may live in the back room of a saloon, in a mission shelter or a free municipal lodging house but on which the head of a family cannot provide shelter, food and clothing on any standard of living which will stand public scrutiny... These contractors are shameless parasites on the community to the extent, for every laborer they employ, of nearly one-half of the nine hundred dollars which it costs an average family to live in New York City." The same writer declared that low wages have recently been declared by an official Investigating Commission to be the chief cause of industrial unrest, adding "Just now in these particular employments in which the public has an undoubtedly legitimate interest... it is mainly a question of action." It is not a less serious thing that, as was pointed out recently, of thirteen thousand girls and women employed in the sales and stock departments of department stores one-half receive less than eight dollars per week. But indefensible and anti-social as is such treatment of the women workers, we are not dealing with industrial institutions clearly under our own control as are the transportation companies with

whom we seem to have entered upon a most unprofitable and unholy partnership.

“Seek ye the truth and the peace,” it was said of old. But I say unto you,—Seek ye justice and peace. What magic virtue inheres in intranational peace that does **not inhere in international peace?** You would perish rather than pay any price for the peace of the land. The man who would go about bidding the nation endure every wrong and shame and dishonor sooner than have an end of peace would be mocked and perhaps slain in the very streets. But he who cries out that he demands justice in the industrial world and will not have peace at the price of honor and justice is designated a disturber of the peace and derided as an inciter to unrest. I take exactly the same position with regard to the world of industry that most men take with regard to the world of international relationships. I would have peace. I pray for peace and I would strive for peace, but there is something better than peace. Earnestly, steadfastly, ceaselessly though peace must be striven for, something must be paid for peace which cannot and shall not be sacrificed even in the seeming, for it can never be real, interest of peace,—justice, justice.

One of the great organs of public opinion in the nation aptly put it not very long ago, “The need of the world is not peace but justice, and the tragedy of the world is not war but injustice. War is a tragedy because it is the fruit of injustice: peace would be a greater tragedy if it were a peace made by giving to injustice a world-sceptre. We do not wish peace. We wish war with the men who are destroying wifehood and motherhood and childhood by carrying on indus-

tries in violation of the fundamental physical laws of health and the moral laws of social well-being." What is the price of industrial peace? Justice. Let us have peace.

American Israel and Democracy*

This day is destined to be memorable in the annals of Israel,—the more because we are thinking not of ourselves alone nor for ourselves, but, after the Jewish manner, of and for all Israel. High is the privilege of having part in an assembly which may be destined to make Jewish history and therefore world history. “The revenge of the human soul, when its rights are ignored by power, is history.” Not the revenge but the indomitable resolution of the human soul, in the case of Israel, its rights too long ignored by power, is to be history.

I recall another date, January 31, 439, nearly fifteen hundred years ago, when the East Roman Emperor, Theodosius II, deprived our forefathers of civil rights and excluded them for public office, and, as has been said, “this act became during the next one and one-half thousand years in every Christian State the basis of

*The above address was given by Dr. Wise at Philadelphia on Sunday evening, March 26, 1916, at the opening session of the Jewish Pre-Congress Convention. Though not delivered in the Pulpit of the Free Synagogue, it is published by the request of members of the congregation who desire its inclusion within the pages of the Free Synagogue Pulpit.

the degradation accorded to the Jews." After nearly fifteen hundred years during the last one hundred of which there has been a beginning of the light, who knows but that even as January 31, 439, is memorable as our day of loss and woe, this day, March 26, 1916, may by us be made forever memorable as the beginning of a new epoch, an epoch that shall see Israel clothed at last throughout the world with honor and security.

There can be but two questions with regard to the possibility of a Congress,—questions touching the name and the thing. As for the name, it is known of men that this is not a Congress but a meeting summoned to consider whether and when a Congress should be called. We have chosen the name because it is the American name, because its American associations have endeared it to us native and adoptive children of the Republic alike. We have chosen the name Congress because it is an inclusive, all-American name, with no implication of partisanship or factionalism. We have chosen the name as alone befitting the high dignity of such an assembly as we conceive to be needed, because no lesser name would measure the significance of an assembly of democratically chosen representatives of the Jewish people of the land. We have deliberately refrained from using the name Convention because of the political associations wrapped around it,—witness the quadrennial Presidential conventions of the political parties. In view of the faith of certain good men in compact and for one reason or another easily manageable bodies, one is tempted to wonder that the name caucus has not been offered as a substitute for the term Congress. So much for the name which it were ludicrous to defend as against

those who for want of anything truly objectionable are happily reduced to the necessity of cavilling at a word!

If any further proof of the fitness of the name Congress were needed, is it not at hand in the circumstance that for a generation a series of congresses have been held in this land dealing with problems of the gravest import. Such have been the World's Congress of Religions, the Tuberculosis Congress, the Sociological Congresses, the Social Insurance Congress temporarily postponed because of the war, the Congress on Child Welfare soon to meet in a South American capital. Never as far as I have heard has objection been made to the use of the term Congress in connection with these assemblies of national and international character. Shall it remain for Jews to belittle their own affairs by refusing to invest their deliberations at the most critical moment of our tasks and hopes with the outward title and the inward dignity of a Congress?

This is not the first time in Jewish history that a Jewish assembly has been called. Little more than a century ago, such a Jewish high court was convened by Napoleon, which court in the course of public sessions did little more than ratify the decisions of the Assembly of Notables. This Assembly, in a sense a milestone on the highroad of Jewish history, little availed after one year to avert the restriction of legal rights for Jews. This Jewish Congress or Sanhedrin, while not paralleled by our Assembly, failed to be greatly and permanently serviceable to Jewish interests for two reasons. First, it was not an act of the Jewish consciousness and the Jewish will. Second, because

in the nature of things it was not free to legislate and act on behalf of Israel.

Taking no special account of a series of memorable Jewish Congresses during the last two decades, which were called into being by the high statesmanship of Theodore Herzl, the assembly of this hour has been summoned upon the initiative of the people's will. The Sanhedrin of a century ago, decreed for us, marked the beginning of Israel's emergence from the ghetto. This assembly, after a century of experience in the manner and the matter of democracy for some of us, and after centuries of democratic idealism for all of us, marks not our emergence from the ghetto but our resurgence to the highest hopes of Israel's life and destiny. It bears witness that we have not lost our capacity for self-determination and that, paraphrasing Edmund Burke, while not despairing of the world, we have come as a people to put our trust chiefly in ourselves.

The failure to secure aught for our people unless the demand be formulated and fortified by the people's purpose was shown forth in the classic instance of Disraeli's insistence at the Berlin Congress of 1878. Earnestly and resolutely he sought to safeguard the rights of Jews in Balkan lands. He failed in large part because, though an ardent believer in his people's future, he omitted to seek support in his people's will. Disraeli died and Roumania utterly forgot. But the Jewish people lives and cannot permanently be ignored. *In magnis voluisse sat est.* In great things it is enough to will but not in the greatest where a people's will alone may be prophetic of a people's achievement.

We have no apologies to make to the American peo-

ple though our fellow-Americans will be moved to wonder that any Jews should fail to have part in deliberations orderly, responsible, democratic, concerned with the security of half of the millions of Israel and involving the honor of all Israel. No more do we find it necessary to make reply to certain grave accusations unctuously couched in the form of admonition, rooted withal in resentment of the people's determination to be free of their masters! And the people are resolved to be free of their masters whether these be malevolent tyrants without or benevolent despots within the life of Israel. We are sorry not because the American people have caught a glimpse of a deep-seated division of opinion, not because we have obviously failed to achieve unanimity touching our aims, but solely because a once beneficent attitude reveals itself as a petulant and malevolent bossship, abhorring the substance of democracy amid the counsels of a people. It were treasonable to be either un-Jewish or un-American, and we are Jewish in our determination to be self-succoring and American in the strength of our will to achieve the best for our people everywhere that we may in all things free our people for the best.

Were it not for certain circumstances, this meeting would in all likelihood have come under the direction of the strongest of hands. Not very long ago, the President of the Republic sought throughout the land for a man to take a place on the foremost tribunal of the earth, the Supreme Court of the United States. By common consent of all save the abettors of privilege, the man was found in a citizen of the Republic whose life has been as serviceable to the nation as it has been honoring to Israel. It is in truth a happy omen that

the highest place yet reached by an American Jew should fall to the lot of that statesman in the realm of industrial democracy and social ethics,

“Who never sold the truth to serve the hour
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power,”

whom the citizenship of the Republic save for the lovers of inequity rightfully reveres as a selfless and consecrated tribune of all the people. This American Jew, who more than any other has moved his people to repossess themselves of the spirit of self-determination and to loose themselves from a long-endured bondage of eleemosynary patronage, is Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

We have no program. As individuals we have opinions, even convictions. But our program might be summed up in the words,—the Jewish people must create their own organ through which after earnest deliberation and discussion to express their convictions touching the needs and demands of the Jewish people. Beyond this we are not to go. This Conference is to labor solely to the end that there be devised and perfected such agencies as may bring about a completely democratic organization of all the forces of American Israel save for such as may will to exclude themselves.

If it again be objected that democratic organization is a method of operation and not an end to be sought, we again solemnly aver that a people is not worthy of respect which does not insist upon the right to be heard touching its own affairs, but surrenders the right of judgment and decision to a company of men, however wise and benevolent, who substitute their own opinions and wishes for the convictions and determinations of the whole people. It were little less than a tragedy if

the Jewish people first among the peoples in democratic aim should in this land succumb to the pressure exerted by those who for one reason or another are distrustful of the capacity of the many to manage their own affairs.

One further step this Congress may take. It may, after reaching a decision that a Congress be held, suggest in outline a program to be considered by the Congress. But it must be understood that this Conference can do no more than tentatively draft a program for the consideration of the Congress,—which Congress must remain free to reach its own decisions on all questions. The Congress, if Congress there is to be, must enjoy freedom unlimited by any mandates from this body. The Congress must remain its own master, as the Jewish people is about to resume the mastery over its own affairs.

While no man may speak with authority for this Conference, it is obvious that among the questions to be considered by it is the situation of Jews in various lands, especially the belligerent lands, the situation in Palestine which history has created for us,—the situation which an historic people have recreated for themselves,—the Jewish migration which as a problem has been intensified rather than evoked by the world-war, the question whether or not a Jewish Congress shall be brought into being and, after that, the choosing of a group of men to be entrusted by us with the task of representing this Conference in making needed arrangements for a Congress.

A Congress means that which Theodore Herzl was wise enough to foresee and big enough to forthtell,—that the fate of Israel cannot be settled *for* us but must

be determined *by* us, by Israel's collective will and indomitable purpose. A Jewish Congress means that we are to cease to be onlookers or auditors at a debate on the future of Israel, that, whatsoever that future, we are to mould it in whole or in largest part. They alone are satisfied to have our future moulded for us who are indifferent to the question whether or not Israel is to have a future. A Congress means that, whatsoever the decision with regard to the future of Israel, we must reach it and we must pronounce it.

The world cannot be expected to assent to any program touching Israel's future as long as Israel does not unitedly deliberate and speak. We owe it to the world to bring into the arena of discussion those problems the rightful solution of which cannot be attained without the co-operation of the peoples.

It was the genius of Herzl to put an end to the century-old hole-in-the-corner method of considering Jewish questions and to insist upon the world's attention and discussion touching Jewish problems. Secrecy, always futile as a curative method, had proven disastrous in prolonging and intensifying Jewish woes. The world had registered its unspoken decrees while Israel self-pityingly and helplessly listened. The soul of a great Jew ended all that. He bade Israel speak and the nations listen. We now freely discuss our will where aforetime we furtively listened to the edict of others. A Congress means deliberation not agitation, discussion not division, enlightenment not secrecy

The call to Israel to speak for itself rather than forever to be spoken for comes at a time when the world has been brought to realize the peril which inheres in the conduct of the people's affairs, most especially

international affairs, by the powerful and the privileged unamenable to public authority and public control. Out of this war is to come an end of private, professional, secret diplomacy and a beginning of the control by the people of their national and international relationships. For these can never be ordered aright save as they have been brought into the arena of public deliberation and untrammelled discussion.

Are we, the people of Israel, to persist in being less democratic than the rest of the world, to insist that we are not competent to pass upon our own problems? Are we forever to suffer men to think and act for us, not because we have chosen and named them, but because they have decreed that we are not fit to be trusted with the power of shaping our own destiny? Among the first of earth's peoples to advocate and to insist upon popular autonomy, shall we be the last to welcome the renewal of the spirit of democracy? Shall we in this democratic land renounce our democratic ideals, and by so much forswear the passionately democratic faith of our fathers?

It is of the essence of the democratic spirit wisely to choose and reasoningly to follow high leadership. To hold that we as a people are anarchic in our incapacity for the acceptance of leadership is wholly to misunderstand Israel's veritable passion for leadership if so be that leadership be wise and noble. Through the centuries Israel ceaselessly renewed its quest for leadership in the words of our fathers "na-aseh rosh,"—let us choose for ourselves a leader. The leadership which Israel has always rejected has either been imposed by outward authority or unendowed with inward authority. To them that express regret at our seemingly

ruthless rejection of the policies that have long been in control of the affairs of American Israel, let it be said that, whatever may have been the necessities of the past, the time is come for a leadership by us to be chosen,—a leadership that shall democratically and wisely lead rather than autocratically and unwisely command.

We reject no leadership for we have known no leadership. Policies of inaction and aimlessness and timidity have presumed to erect themselves into leadership, tempered always by the grace of beneficence. With the substitution of incoherent purposelessness for the conscious direction of our affairs we have been patient much too long. Accidentally and whimsically adopted policies have been set to do the work of un-deviating principle. Such direction as has been has even lacked the merit of wise opportunism. We have had caution in the place of wisdom. We have had inaction erected into a program. This leadership of inaction has persisted so long because of the long-suffering patience of our people, which pardons much ineffectiveness in men if they are or are believed to be moved by benevolent purpose. The aimlessness of our so-called leadership has been witnessed during the past year by the rejection of our demand for a program and the naming of our insistence upon a program as token of divisiveness and disloyalty.

The only program acceptable to the men in control of our affairs has been a program of palliation, as if nothing more than temporary relief could be hoped for Israel, wounded and oppressed. Relief, alas, is at times sorely needed, was never more needed than today. But relief is not to be exalted as the policy or

program of a people unless these be hopeless beggars and their leaders adopt a program of relief as the only way out. Not relief but redress, not palliation but prevention, not charity but justice, not Zedakah but Zedek is the only program worthy of a great and proud people.

It was not far from these halls that the father of the Republic spoke unforgettable words to his fellow-founders of a new order,—words peculiarly applicable to the situation in which we, the sons and daughters of Israel, stand this day. Let us, said Washington, erect a standard to which all men can repair. I say to you, representatives of a great people and of a great cause,—Let us erect a standard to which all men can repair,—our fellow-Jews all,—for we have opened the door of hope and we are resolved to keep that door open! That all men may enter, that all our fellow-Jews may stand with us in restoring the fortunes and renewing the glories of our people Israel! To which all men may repair,—yea, all men, our fellow-Americans and all peoples, for of them we ask all that it doth become men to ask, their just and even brotherly consideration of the problems of Israel which to solve equitably is to remove their as well as our own reproach! Israel expects every man to do his duty.

The character and content of that duty it remains for us wisely and solemnly, prayerfully and selflessly, to seek to determine. God give it that our deliberations be worthy of this setting, the cradle of American freedom and be equal to the hopes of our people Israel.

I have sought to do no more than as an individual to interpret the mind of Israel. Whether or not I have rightly interpreted the purpose of our people, it is for

this Conference and the Jewish Congress now in the process of creation to determine. The event be in the hands of God.

How To Face Life

I. "YOUTH: PREPARING FOR LIFE."

"How beautiful is youth! How bright it gleams.
With its illusions, aspirations, dreams!
Book of Beginnings, Story without End,
Each maid a heroine, and each man a friend!
Aladdin's Lamp, and Fortunatus' Purse!
That holds the treasures of the universe!
All possibilities are in its hands,
No danger daunts it and no foe withstands;
In its sublime audacity of faith,
'Be thou removed.' it to the mountain saith,
And with ambitious feet, secure and proud,
Ascends the ladder leaning on the cloud."

Longfellow "Morituri Salutamus"

How to face life, how to prepare for life, are questions that must be answered by those who believe, as Lecky put it, that the "map of life" must be marked out, that in the words of Emerson there is such a thing as the "conduct of life" which man is free to determine.

We are assured incessantly in these days that we must enter upon a great program of preparedness for war,—back of which urging lies the assumption that a maximum of preparedness must be arranged in order to secure our land against the menace of aggression or invasion. If a program of preparedness, which in the last analysis involves destruction and

desolation, be impossible without the fullest planning, how much less possible is it to shape a constructive life-upbuilding program without most careful and adequate preparedness.

Into the mind of our youth must penetrate the ideal of self-preparedness,—not of external preparation for the outward life, but of inmost preparedness for the inner life. Whether or not the preparedness program be, as I hold it, more menacing to the soul of America than foreign foe can ever become because it marks an immediate invasion of the American spirit rather than a possible aggression upon American soil, it is certain that life cannot worthily be lived save after preparedness in the fullest sense of the term.

It is in truth easy to stir up excitement and even deeper feeling over a purely external problem such as is that of war-preparedness, preparing to do something to another whether an individual or a nation or a continent. The easiest way is the way of external preparedness, the militaristic way, for it involves a minimum of reasoning. But preparation for life which I ask of youth involves the largest measure of reasoning and planning and purposing. It is the hardest way rather than the easiest way, though in truth the pursuit thereof makes ultimately for the way that is inevitably rightful and unerring.

Is it needful to urge upon young people that they shall face life with the determination to sketch for themselves a map of life as they see it, as they purpose, if so be they purpose, to have it? What would be said of a military commander who entered upon a land to him unknown without securing in advance

the fullest possible data, without gaining as far as it was possible so to do an understanding of the outlines of the country he proposed to enter?

Curiously enough, it is often imagined that preparation for life is largely a matter of the higher education and exclusively associated with college and university life. This imagining may be due to the circumstance that men and women step out of so-called preparatory schools into higher institutions of learning. One sometimes wonders in very truth whether instead of college preparing men for life it were not more fitting to hold that after the college or university experience men need to be repaired if they are rightly to live and toil and serve.

My counsel is not for men alone but for men and women, for youth and maidens alike. Let no man venture to offer two kinds of counsel, one to men and yet another to women. There is only one manner of preparedness for life, for life is life and it is not one thing for a man and yet another for a woman.

Though I have used the term "map of life," map is hardly a happy analogy. For maps presuppose that a land is become known and familiar. And life cannot be foreknown and charted, if life it is to be, as every life ought to be, a great adventure. We are to fare forth upon the seas of life,—without chart. But some of us attempt to sail the seas rudderless, helmless, starless. Men and women embark upon life without ever having given thought to the storms that beset, to the rocks that threaten, to the unknown perils that may lie before. And then it is wondered why many fail to make port, why the ships of life frequently founder upon the high seas. The wonder ought rather

to be that so many enter triumphantly into the harbors of eternity, seeing how rarely men map out life in advance, seeing how grudging is the time spent upon preparation, seeing how seldom men diligently and consciously prepare to meet those difficulties and burdens and problems which adequate preparedness for life alone can fit the soul to face.

And yet there is another side to the shield. There is the danger that life may be too much mapped out in advance, too definitely charted for us. For life is to be an adventure into the unknown rather than the acceptance of a program, a hazard of the spirit rather than a body of prescriptions and ordinances.

Let not life be mapped out so definitely for you, so accurately and systematically that no room will be left for the play of your own will and the determinations of your own spirit. I would almost rather have every map of life flung away than have life so mapped out as to leave youth no freedom of choice, as to fail to spur men on to face the great adventure, to be capable of daring to front whatsoever life may offer. Not very long ago, I inquired of friends, whose little lad is a pupil of one of the so-called best schools in the land, when they had applied for his admittance, and they answered. "Before he was born." It occurred to me to inquire what dire thing would have happened in the event of the lad having proved upon birth to be a little lass, but the comforting assurance was at once given me that such contingency, not to say calamity, had been guarded against in a sense through applying for admittance to a girl's school in the event of the lad being born a lass. It seemed to me then as it does now an admirable thing to make such compre-

hensive provision for a child's education as to gain for it in advance of birth admittance into two schools, irrespective of sex.

But, without resting too heavily upon this illustration, is it not possible to prepare another for life so definitely as to deny to youth the privilege of willing, choosing, venturing, daring—even losing? It were almost better that a youth go without the problematic advantages of school discipline than have his school and college and university career chosen and marked out for him rigidly and inflexibly. What greater wrong can I do my child than to withhold from him the freedom of choice, than so to cabin and confine his spirit that he must needs beat his wings in the intense inane without knowing the atmosphere that magnifies freedom and liberates the soul. Guide if you will the life of youth, but beware of the danger of maiming and crippling life through so definitely and completely mapping it out as to deny the soul of youth the peril of adventure, the joy of combat, the glory of hopeless daring.

Life must mean pioneering, not making one's way, but breaking a way, clearing a path of life for one's self. It is the glory of life,—and there is no glory like unto it,—to face the task of moral and intellectual pioneering. There is danger lest in our time there pass out of the life of men one of the most precious of things, that pioneering spirit that comes to the man who after he has fared forth, braved every danger, stood every peril at bay, declares in the word of the poet :

“Anybody might have heard it
But God's whisper came to me.”

The whisper of God comes to every man or to every man it may come. The opportunity for the performance of the task of moral or spiritual pioneering is denied to no man. Americas of the spirit remain to be discovered within the life of every one of us. What man or woman within my hearing will affirm that there has never come into his life a revelation the gleam of which enables him to see that he is free to reach a great decision, that his spirit may dare a great refusal, that his soul may utter a great affirmation. The great moment of life is that in which a man is revealed unto himself, in which his soul is laid bare, in which it comes to him with the force of a revelation,—mine is the power to will and to determine the content of my life, though if I am to will I must dare to be myself, I must reach the decision, I must will, I must be free.

And the freedom of youth means freedom to be one's self, to be a law unto one's self, not to be one's self in lawlessness. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve,—remembering that the responsibility of decision rests with you and that, in the despite of all the lives that have been lived and all the maps that have been drawn and all the plans that have been sketched and all the precedents that have been set, you must live your own life, and, if it be not your own life, it is not life at all. Cherish the counsels of loved ones but remember that neither mother nor father, uncle nor cousin nor any kinsman or kinswoman whatsoever can choose whom you are to serve. You cannot serve God unless yours be the choice.

Young men and women require to be warned against a thousand and one influences ever lurking near at

hand to deter youth from the hazard of the spirit's pioneering. Despise the counsels of the over-wise and over-mature, the sum of whose low wisdom is that a man can make no graver mistake in life than to wander from the paths which all men else have pursued. The fear of seeming unusual obsesses the soul of too many of us. Not a few men and women would rather be wrong than seem different. Difference, variance, distinctiveness are not ends in themselves, but may become and oftentimes are the means that must be used by him who is not fearful of moral distinction.

Outward differentiation is nothing, but inward distinction is everything,—is the counsel I ever urge upon my fellow-Jews. We are not to seem different for the sake of seeming, but we are to dare to seem to be different in order to be distinguished, in order to achieve spiritual outstandingness. When nice and refined and timid people say to you, Remember to be like everybody else, don't attempt anything new, don't run the risk of seeming peculiar, don't dream of venturing upon novel courses whether in things great or small,—remember that there is a possible invasion of the soul's integrity that no man need endure. To the counsels of the timorous fling back the command to the brave,—“Always do what you are afraid to do.”

When men seek to affright you by their counsels of prudence, remind them of the rule of one of the knightliest of Americans, the founder of Hampton Institute, who laid upon youth's soul the burden,—“doing what can't be done is the glory of living.” And when men seek to degrade you to the level of their own base timidity, bid them to remember the

courage and nobleness that were in the act of Higginson in leading a negro regiment touching which he said: "We all fought, for instance, with ropes around our necks, the Confederate authorities having denied to officers of colored regiments the usual privileges if taken prisoners and having required them to be treated as felons."

Pioneering, moreover, presupposes unrest, discontent, just as it should. I am not fearful for the youth whose soul is in a state of unrest, the youth who has soaring ideals and knows not whether life is even worth living. If that be his problem it is enough for him to know, paraphrasing the word of the Jewish fathers, that whether or not life is worth living we must live as if it were and we must make life fuller of worth. Are you dissatisfied, are you discontented, so much the better for you. Hearing from the mother of James Russell Lowell of his general discontent with the conditions of society, Emerson wrote to her, "I hope he will never get over it." Better the nobly discontented than the ignobly content. Did not John Stuart Mill say that pigs are always satisfied and men are always dissatisfied. But let your discontent and dissatisfaction be not with the world but with yourself, knowing that if it be noble it shall lift you up.

Grave consequences attend the too definite mapping out of life's program. Men's passion for and faith in the profession of soldiering rest upon youth's yearning for adventure. And if, perchance, today great multitudes of men are yearning to take up arms, it is not because they would destroy an enemy, but because they would obliterate the emptiness of their own lives, because they are in revolt against the absence in normal

life today of the pioneering opportunity. It is this lack of stimulus or impulse in the direction of pioneering which makes for poor, mean, low substitutes in the realm of adventure. The low gang takes the place of high comradeship, the debasing fling becomes a substitute for ennobling adventure. The passion for glamor and glare, as disclosed in the craze for the motion picture, is only another expression of the thwarted sense of adventure which the soul of youth dare not be denied.

Seeing that the gang spirit is nothing more than a crude, imperfect, at worst sinful expression of youth's passion for togetherness, what needs to be done is to offer youth an opportunity for the expression of the deep yearning for fraternalism. Do young men imagine that they must have their fling? Is it not because life as lived is often so flat and stale and unprofitable that the fling of the body is substituted for the adventure of the spirit, that, failing to grasp hold of the eternal realities and verities, men set out to magnify the passing and perishable? When everything big is shut out of life, it is not to be wondered at that life becomes full of meannesses and littlenesses and unworthinesses.

Give yourself to something great, enroll under the banner of a high cause, choose as your own some standard of self-sacrifice, attach yourself to a movement that makes not for your own gain but for the welfare of men, and you will have come upon a richly satisfying and engrossing adventure. Either your spirit will greatly and bravely, nobly and self-forgetfully adventure, or you will be in danger of yielding to the dominance of your appetites, you will be in peril of

being overcome by your masterful passions. Dare to give every power of your life to the furtherance of a mighty cause. Let your spirit come under the dominance of a high and exalting enthusiasm. So will you gain the mastery over yourself, not as a matter of prudence, not as a matter of caution, not as a matter of timidity, not as a matter of duty.

Let something so high and noble come into your life that it shall be expulsive of everything low and mean. The men I honor most, the men I have reason to cherish most highly, are the men into whose lives something so lofty and commanding has come as to have left no room for the mean and the petty. Having given themselves to the furtherance of a high and exalted ideal, life leaves no place for the mean. The selfish and the unworthy it is that retreats with the precipitancy of the coward before the imperiousness of the noble impulse, the divine aim. And to their honor, be it said, young men and women will rise to the highest level when it invites or challenges. There is in the heart of youth, a limitless capacity for ardent devotion to causes of nobleness if but it be evoked and guided. And youth, too, understands how noble the venturesome deed may be even when utterly futile, how sublime in essence even when broken and blundering.

But men cannot finely pioneer nor nobly adventure until after they have learned certain lessons in life. Men must learn to be self-reveringly independent, which implies not the aloofness of solitude but the aloneness when necessary of moral and spiritual self-reliance. Man must learn to live his own life. There is no greater danger in our time than that a man shall

submit to the tyranny of the crowd. A man need not be remote from nor yet alien to the world and yet he may live his own life and live within himself. We suffer ourselves to come under the domination of mob-feeling and mob-thinking, such as it is, because we have not learned the art of shutting ourselves away at times from the world. We seem never to dare to be alone because, though we know it not, we would fain avoid facing life's problems. We must understand, too, that, if the problems of our own life are to be met and solved, these things cannot be done vicariously. Not parents nor teachers nor ministers can solve those pressing problems of our inner life with which a man can cope effectively only amid the solitude of his inmost life. Until you have learned the art of separating yourself for some time in every day from the multitude, you will not learn how to think out and think through life's problems. You will not even know that there are problems to be resolved.

But while life is to be lived in the spirit of self-reverence and self-reliance, life's great questions cannot be faced aright unless they be faced selflessly. Life is not to be egocentric but heterocentric. The question that a man must put is not what is he going to get out of life, how can he get the most out of life, but how can he put the most and the best into life. Life is not to be interpreted in terms of self, of individual gain, of personal advantage. If it be possible to differentiate between two classes in the world, these classes are respectively made up of the men who read life in the language of privilege and advantage and the men who interpret life in the terms of duty and obligation and responsibility. The selfless

are the only beings who know how to live, who have learned and mastered the art of life. It is always possible to draw the distinction between the man who lives for himself, for what he can get out of life, for the enhancement of his own fame, for the enlargement of his own power. The other man is he who puts himself second, who lives for the good of others, who lives for the good, who is capable of denying self. The noblest of men and women are they who prescribe life to self in terms of duty to the world.

I venture to say to youth this day that there two great needs in the life of youth, if life is to be truly and finely faced. Have an ideal, something to live by, and live for that ideal, wholly, steadfastly, unwaveringly. Many men are willing to cherish an ideal, to behold a vision, to catch a gleam, but they do not seem to understand that ideals are not to be had cheaply, that a vision is not to be gained for the asking. One comes upon men and women in every walk of life entirely ready to pursue an ideal, but the pursuit must impose no difficulty, must involve no sacrifice. These are the idealists who falter not until sacrifice be demanded of them, and then their ideal is suffered to pass as if the ideal was nothing more than a fair-weather friend rather than a refuge in time of trouble, a bulwark during hours of trial and amid the storms of temptation.

Nor are ideals reserved for the great and outstanding in life. Everyone of us has a goal, and you are what your goal is. Your life will ultimately define itself in the terms of your ideal. Let your ideal be high and it will exalt you. Suffer your ideal to be low and it will

be sure to debase you. You are your goal: your ideal is you.// Life often breaks down here, in one of these two critical places, in the matter of willing highly and of having holily. Some men have neither vision of goal nor choice of way. Some men have the vision but stumble on the way,—the men who think the goal more important than the way, forgetting that the way is the goal. And so many falter and fumble, forgetting that life's most important choice is as truly of a path as of the goal, that the way that leads thither is of the essence of the dream and the triumph. What thou wouldst have highly thou must have holily. We will to have high things, but we are not prepared to achieve them holily, as if the manner of the quest were less holy than the matter of the goal.

Who does not know of men in business who aim to secure a competence and are resolved to put by the ways that are sharp and mean, after a fortune has been secured. Men vainly imagine that after they have amassed much they will neutralize the evil they have done by doing much good, but in the meantime they have done evil to themselves and are no longer free to live by the ideal. Giving themselves unholily to the quest of the high, they have become transformed and debased into something mean and strange. One knows of men in the ministry to whom is given the putatively wise counsel to be discreetly cautious and evasively silent until the time come for the occupancy of a great pulpit, when, as it is basely said, a man can afford to speak out of his soul. But when the great pulpit prize is won, the gleam, alas, is gone, the vision lies shattered. The man has been corrupted and his soul corroded and he who was willing for a time to be silent in the hope

that some day, through the methods of silence, he might achieve the right of speaking out more bravely, has in the meantime become a dumb dog who has lost the power as well as the will to utter himself in fashion brave and unafraid.

Seemingly good men, outwardly decent men enter into political life and imagine that they must for a time strike hands with corruption until the hour will come when they will be able to smite corruption with their own fists. They palter and they falter, whispering sorrowfully,—“truly it is regrettable, but one must do these things.” One distinguished statesman in American life declared to a friend many years ago that there are times when a man must eat a peck of dirt in order to gain high office. He gained the office, he ate his peck, and the tragedy is that it is not only become the steady article of his diet, but he loves it and he would not live without it and it is become of the very essence of his being.

In other words, a man cannot wallow through the mire to the skies. No man can have two standards, one to be followed until he be forty or fifty, and then suddenly put away. No man can divest himself of the lower ideal which he has adopted as a temporary expedient because in the meantime it has come to have the mastery over his soul. Putting aside the great choice, the hour comes when a man finds himself incapable of the great refusal and the standard to which he gave his temporary adherence to be abandoned in the years of opulence and safety now becomes his despotic and irremovable master. It is no more possible to have two standards in the world of the spirit than it is possible to prescribe two different moral standards

for men and women. Unity must be sought and achieved at the outset, not a lowered standard in the beginning and a higher standard in the end. The habit of the soul cannot be altered at will. Once to every man and not a thousand times comes the moment to decide, and the earlier decision will in part, if not in whole, be determinative of every later choice.

And if, young men and women, there were nothing else for which to prepare, there is the future, there is the holy calling of parenthood to be pursued by most of you. Have I not the right to appeal to young men and women today to remember how much or how little they can make of their own lives, and may we not base such appeal upon the truth that they are to be the makers and the moulders of the morrow; that unless their lips and lives proclaim the voice of God in the soul of man, there will follow a little-souled and mean-hearted generation instead of a race of great-hearted and noble-souled men and women.

A beautiful passage in an allegory recently presented upon the stage tells of the song of unborn souls, which are dreaming of the parenthood to be their lot upon earth and looking forward with heavenly joy to the supreme felicity and benediction of parenthood. The most important duty of youth is to prepare with consciousness and consecration for life's highest duty,—the duty of parenthood. Shall that future be polluted, shall that heritage be befouled? In reminding young men and women as I do that they are the trustees of the morrow, that they hold in their keeping the destiny of all the future, I am tempted to ask a question. What if I were to bring a little child to this place, some beautiful child of a year or two, and what if some man

sitting in this company were to come hither and for some unknown reason strike that child cruelly in the face, would it not be with difficulty that we could restrain ourselves from doing violence to such a creature? What of the men and women committing a crime infinitely more hurtful, who would not strike a little child, but who, none the less, are ready to doom unborn generations to a heritage of evil, of hurt, of shame? What young man or woman will not think upon that?

A last word I would speak to young women who in every generation are standard-bearers, and not only standard-bearers but standard-lifters. I know it to be true that oftentimes women conform to the lower standards which men impose upon them. Yet is it true that women may be the makers of standards if they will, and that if they consent to the lowering of the standards, men will readily and, alas, eagerly lapse to the lower levels. If but young women would understand that if they suffer standards to be lowered, if they for any reason yield to the temptation to be their poorer, unworthier selves in the sight of men, then will they corrupt men, then will they in very truth have broken faith with the moral order, which has vested womanhood with the supreme privilege of exalting standards and by the exalting of standards to exalt men.

I have said nothing up to this time about the place of God in the life of youth. I never feel it my duty to urge you to believe in God as if faith in God, as if trust in God, as if the acceptance of God were a task to be superimposed rather than a privilege to be coveted. To young men and women I would say that the one thing

in the world they may not omit to do is to leave room for God in their lives. But you can't leave room for God if your life be choked and clogged with things, and things, and things. Leave a place in your life for the spirit of God and God will find his way into your life and lead you to the making of a life divine.

Reviewing what has gone before, the great thing in life is to map it out in youth. Not that one is to refrain from venturing upon the uncharted sea but that, howsoever daringly one is ready to fare forth upon the seas, one may not forget the guidance of the stars. It is a great thing to venture upon the imperilling seas of life without the assurance of safety and reward for one's plans and toils. It is a greater thing so to fare forth as to come inevitably under the direction of the fixed stars in the heavens of the spirit divine.

Upon a stained window in the dwelling of a noble friend I came upon some lines which I commend to the soul of youth everywhere:

“Climb high
Climb far
Your goal the sky
Your aim the star.”

II. MATURITY. “HOW TO SERVE AND ACHIEVE”

Maturity, or the middle period of life, is in a sense the largest part of life, and it is not to be viewed merely as the period after youth and before old age. It is relative only as all time is relative, but it is absolute, too. In truth, it is the time of that self-

dependence which comes with the consciousness of power in maturity. It is the very body and substance of life and least relative,—for youth is its foreshadowing and old age the shadow which it casts behind. Middle age is not a link between youth and old age, but that period of life to which youth is an approach,—from which old age is an exit. Comparing life to a bridge, youth and old age might be likened to the piers which must be builded, but the linking together of the piers, the stretching of the cables over which the pilgrimage of life must be made is the task of life's middle period.

Life is so constituted that it were almost within the limits of reasonableness to urge that life need not pass out of the middle stage into old age. Loath though one be to enter upon maturity, it need never be left behind in return for age if it be entered upon in the spirit of preparedness. Middle age is hard and bitter if youth have been misspent, if youth have not been the stage of conscious preparation for life.

Certain rules have been laid down for the governance of youth and the question may be asked whether these are pertinent to the needs and tasks of middle age,—namely the law that one must have an ideal by which to live, and one must not merely live by it but up to it. As for the rules which are to be binding upon the middle period of life, who shall venture to prescribe them, save that certain things are obviously true,—that middle age shall continue that which youth initiates, and that there will be no sharp frontier dividing youth from that which comes after. For the middle age is not so much a part of life as it is life, and life absolute.

Middle age is a part of the same life-long journey which in its early stages is youth and culminates in age. And yet in a sense a different type of rules and ordinances is applicable to every one of the three great periods of life. For life is not a journey, even and unvarying over a wide plain. Life may best be likened to the ascent of a mountain and in turn the descent from its summit, and the laws that govern life must be variously modified in order to meet the needs of the different periods along the journey.

In the early stages, during the early hours of the ascent, the imperative thing is that a man shall not over-tax his strength, that he shall not overstrain his powers in the initial stages of the journey, that he shall not attempt too much, that he shall not travel at too wearying a pace. As man nears the summit of the mountain, it becomes needful for him to conform to other rules. He must not lose the stride, he must know how to go on, he must climb and climb without succumbing to the heat of the day. Once the descent is begun, yet other rules apply, if one is with safety to reach the end of the long journey. The glory of the morning no longer upbears him, the splendor of the noonday sun no longer maintains his strength. But as he leaves youth's vigor and the strength of maturity behind him, the glow of the passing day may irradiate his vision and reveal to him the distant horizon.

Middle age seems too often a painful reluctance to leave youth behind and to be still more hesitant in the matter of facing the oncoming of age. Unhappily for itself, middle age oft combines the childishness of immaturity with the senescence of post-maturity so

that it lacks alike the charm of youth and the grace of age. Old age that is not worthy of reverence is contemptible, not less worthy of contempt is middle age, if it have brought from youth nothing save youth's foibles and frailties. We not unseldom see, — and it is always a pitiful spectacle, — men and women whose bark of life is unballasted by the poise that comes with strength and the serenity which ought to be the mark of the maturer period. While men speak of the dignity of old age, it is in truth the middle age which is in need of dignity and which alas is too often lacking in dignity.

Men frequently refer to the emptiness and the barrenness of old age, when in truth it is oftenest middle age that is empty and meaningless, for it is the time when life's emptiness is disclosed. It is in middle age that men are made to face the bitter truth that theirs it is not to achieve and to serve because they have not set up any standards worthy of the name, because their goal, such as it is, is too immediately accessible, and that they cannot serve because self, having been their very deity, has not suffered them to will to serve or to learn how to serve.

The temptation of middle age is to yield to the spirit of disenchantment, though in truth that is oft-times called disenchantment which means nothing more than the absence of enchantments. The temptation of middle age is not so much to give up ideals as to realize that one is without them. Then men mistake their poor plans and plottings, their puny purposes for ideals and wonder why they have lost that which in truth they never had. Men rarely lose ideals. Poor, imperfect substitutes for ideals are

found out and find out their owners,—if so they may be named. Men are not to fear losing ideals in middle age. They are to fear not having them in youth so that they cannot hold them throughout life.

Middle age depends upon youth and its disillusionments are due chiefly to the absence of illusions in the time of youth. In middle and in old age men suddenly discover that they cannot reap what in youth they have failed to sow. That middle age finds the ideals of youth unsatisfying and even unengrossing, indicts only youth and not itself, shows that the map of life, if drawn at all and as drawn in youth, was not ample and generous enough to have proved sufficing for a lifetime.

Assuming that middle age is less joyous than youth, it enjoys one supreme satisfaction, or rather reaps one supreme compensation, that of the consciousness of two powers, two of life's sovereign powers, the power to achieve and the power to serve. If youth initiates, middle age most achieves and best serves,—most achieves because it is a time of fullness of intellectual strength and firmness of moral will; best serves because the stains of self have been or ought to have been burnt out and there is left the capacity of selfless enlistment under banners unrelated to personal gain or private advantage. The middle age that men find bare and unsatisfying is in truth that to them who have not mastered the two arts of life, achieving and serving.

Certain mistakes are not uncommon in respect of the interpretation of middle age, for example, that it is not the period of high initiative. Because things are not initiated with dash and flare, it is assumed

that middle age undertakes nothing. On the contrary, it is then and perhaps only then that things are begun and achieved for their own sake, that things are really undertaken in the consciousness of strength and with a capacity for achievement. Moreover, while little can be carried into and beyond middle age that is not initiated in youth, the soul of man has not in the middle period forfeited or abandoned the power of self-correction and self-redemption. It may not be easy, neither is it impossible.

Perhaps the supreme rule for middle age may be phrased in the fewest of words,—*don't stop growing!* Physical and intellectual maturity are not interchangeable terms. The truth is that men almost consciously cease to grow, and even will not to grow at thirty-five and forty and forty-five and then proceed to wonder why life is so unsatisfying. Let men but remember that there is no such thing as maturity in life,—if maturity mean the cessation of growth,—for maturity were followed by post-maturity, which is over-ripeness. Men need never cease to grow and mature. Men will either grow up or go down. The great and satisfying lives are those of men and women who grow on and go on until they are cut down. When Freeman died, he asked that on his gravestone be carved the words,—“He died learning.” He who grows and learns dies not. Continue, as long as thou wouldst grow to learn and reason and purpose, nor yet imagine that life is done when youth is ended. Nor let the middle aged forget that going on is not the only possibility. Even in middle age a man may reserve for himself freedom, freedom of choice, freedom to revise life's foundations, freedom to begin anew if so be error have been made.

Above all, middle age must not lose its admirations, its reverences, its enthusiasms. The edge of enthusiasm may be dulled with the passing of the years,—but the body and substance of one's admirations need not be diminished, and we live by our admirations. Anatole France, speaking of the old campaigners of the Reserve, uses this finely stimulating word with regard to them,—“they unite the elasticity of youth with the staunchness of maturity.” There is another and an older way of describing the characteristic quality of middle age, which must combine “the wisdom of age and the heart of youth.”

III. “OLD AGE: HOW NOT TO GROW OLD.”

“But why, you ask me, should this tale be told
To men grown old, or who are growing old?
It is too late! Ah, nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.

.....
What, then? Shall we sit idly down and say
The night hath come; it is no longer day?
The night hath not yet come; we are not quite
Cut off from labor by the failing light;
Something remains for us to do or dare;
Even the oldest tree some fruit may bear.

.....
For age is opportunity no less
Than youth itself, though in another dress,
And as the evening twilight fades away
The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day.”

LONGFELLOW “*Morituri Salutamus*”

Old age depends largely upon the attitude of men toward the whole of life. Old age is not a joke nor a bore nor a trial nor a calamity, though it may be any one of these as all of life may be. But what needs to be stressed is that old age has no content in itself apart from the whole of life. Old age may be as nothing else a foretaste of the kingdom of heaven where faith and hope may meet and love crowns all. But little can come to old age that was not in and throughout life. Alas for the old age of the self-centred and the self-serving! If life have built walls that shut out, these cannot be razed by age, which will forever have made itself captive to itself.

The crown of old age,—is a term that trips lightly from our tongues. Are we not in danger of forgetting that there must be something to crown? For in old age inheres no magic to redeem and transfigure all that has gone before. Old age purges the precious metal of life's substance, of its debasing dross, but the precious substance must be there to be purged. Age, like happiness, is neither to be sought nor evaded. It is a by-product of life rather than life's end. Not the aim nor goal of life, but the way of life must it be.

In the matter of reverencing old age, we rest historically upon the firmest Jewish foundation. For the Jew as no other man before or after him taught the world how to magnify childhood and to glorify old age,—to rise up before the hoary head and honor the face of the old man. And this revering solicitude for the aged is still one of the marks of Jewish life. Jewish teaching has urged and Jewish practice has confirmed the truth that blessing rests upon that home in which the aged have found shelter.

Indeed, one is sometimes disposed to hold that there is a possibility of overdoing reverence for old age as old age, of becoming almost indiscriminating in the honor which one metes out to the hoary head. If the people of Israel have erred in any part with respect to old age, they have revered the aged head too much irrespective of the head and the man. I would not if I could break with that fine tradition, but sometimes, as in this hour, it were well to ask whether old age is to be respected as a virtue in itself, whether length of days should be regarded as a merit apart from what has gone before. Old age is judged compassionately on the principle that nothing but the good should be spoken touching the dead or the nearly dead.

One is sometimes moved to believe that if the aged are unhappy it is because age brings with it not only the opportunity for quiet meditation and serene retrospect, but the necessity of thinking about the great issues of life. And many of us have never learned how to think. We have put off the evil day of taking thought upon life so that, when it at last comes, its imminence appalls. Men and women put off their questions and their problems to the end of life and when the end is nearly come, they lack the strength and will to think them through. The need of solutions is then cruelly pressed upon unpracticed and undisciplined minds

Though I ask the question, how to grow old and how not to grow old, are you not, if you will be frank, more interested in the question how not to grow old than how to grow old? In the question, pressing a little farther, how seem not to grow old than how

not grow old? Seeming not to grow old may be attained by artificial means. Not to grow old may be achieved by inward grace alone. Need it be said that no one is ever deceived by external methods of averting age, nor is anyone profited or helped save perhaps the chemist and the dye-maker, save the babblers and praters of new substitutes for old faiths? Whosoever thinks of old age aright, whosoever has fitted himself for the dignity of the burden of many days will resort neither to renewing cosmetics nor novel cults as a refuge from old age.

Men speak of the penalties of old age and penalties there are, but what of its rewards, rich and abundant and wondrous, richer indeed in most cases than is desert? The old, because they are old, are treated for the most part as if they were travellers returning richly laden with stores of varied treasures from a voyage over remotest seas to some strange and wondrous spot. Old age in itself is no more a reward than a penalty. And yet what rewards, paraphrasing Shakespeare, accompany old age, and how fitting that these rewards, friendship-bearing, honor-bringing, should wait upon what otherwise might be life's melancholy end!

The truth is that old age is not a period of rewards or penalties in themselves. It is a time of duties, as every period of life offers life's cup with duties brimming o'er. Duties there are,—but there are privileges beyond estimate. And the privilege of privileges is to offer an example to others in all ways and most of all in the way of facing life with serenity. Finer far for old age to claim its duties than to enjoy its privileges, for the old ought to shun being pitied as weak

and seek rather to be admired as strong and honored as serene.

When old age has the grace of exalting duty and subordinating privilege, it ceases to be the period of mute resignation. From one point of view, it is the age of resignation, for one wittingly resigns in part what death is wholly to take away, but, be it made clear, resignation is not inaction, renunciation is not will-lessly surrendering torpor. These things imply will, action, choice, not merely an awaiting of the end without murmur or complaint. For old age waits not but wills; old age surrenders not but whilst life is renders return for life.

While different types of laws seem to obtain for youth, maturity and old age, these yet are one and one spirit seems to pervade and dominate all. Let youth hold high its aim and pursue high aims through holy means. Let maturity serve and achieve and above all achieve only that it may serve with unimpaired admirations and undimmed ideals. And let old age be nobly wise and unafraid and unselfish to the end!

Much, if not everything, of the content of old age depends on the things for which one cares. If one care for the things that cannot survive youth or middle age, whose value is inevitably lessened with the flight of years, then old age must become barren and empty. Whether your old age is to be void and meaningless depends almost wholly not upon what you have and care for at seventy or eighty, but what it was you sought to have at twenty, what you cared for at thirty, what you cherished at forty. Certain things may be harmless, even admirable in themselves, and yet are destined to be woefully disappointing if

they are suffered to become the pursuits of a lifetime and men give themselves to things for which they cannot care when the years have multiplied.

Myopia may interfere with one's zest for looking upon motion pictures, limbs may become too rheumatic for dancing, tragic though this may sound, the hazard of games of chance may lose its fascination, even money-making, the accumulation of things, may pall or become impossible. But certain things there are that can never grow stale nor wearying nor seem unprofitable. Upon these, let men fix their vision and their aim, the pleasures of the mind, the tasks of the spirit, the possibilities of serving. It is almost life's greatest danger that life will be lived with care for things interest in which cannot survive youth and middle age. What if a man were so to train himself physically that he could run and do nothing else, so that after the period of running had passed, he could not walk! Would not such *modus vivendi* seem unwise and sadly blundering?

Would you avoid growing old? Do you will even to seem not to grow old? Then have a vision of life and amid a multiplicity of things have and hold, cherish and pursue an ideal. To the man of ideals, to the man who in other words lives, age comes not. Age cannot touch nor wither nor blast the life pervaded and smitten through by ideals. Would you grow old, or rather would you not grow old, then live, and live by the stars. Such are the lives of the unageing. In order not to grow old, I say again, grow on in faith and hopefulness, in vision and serviceableness. Being without these things, some men cannot grow old, they are old. Unhappily for them, they were born old, as

other men, whatever be the number of their years, die young. Having these things, age cannot ravage the spirit.

Such men and women are age-proof, their heads may be silvern white, their frames bowed, their limbs palsied, but age they know not,—the men I have in mind, such men as that great physician who, after sixty years and more of unwearied and unrivalled service, is still an impassioned pleader for the right of the child, of the merest, puniest babe. Who will dare say that he is aged, who at fourscore and more spends himself utterly in the service of the least of these? I am thinking of yet another friend of fourscore and more, whose life is nobly dedicated to the furtherance of amity between faith and faith, who serves all men as brothers, who proves that he is a Christian by the love he bears the Jew. And I am thinking of yet another man who likewise has lived for fourscore years, perhaps the foremost educator of our generation, a publicist of matchless felicity in utterance and conduct alike, a man who at eighty and more steps into the arena with all the power and eagerness of youth in order to take up arms on behalf of another great though much wronged servant of the nation.

It was once said of Theodore Parker that he gave himself unreservedly and with abandon to whatever truth duty love, the three sublime voices of God,—the real trinity in our souls,—commanded. Truth, duty, love! Have you tried these things? Have you dared to live by them and for them, by and for any one of them? Does not this word bear out what was recently said by a great American physician about a

noble social worker,—that individual who has no object in life, who simply works day by day, with the idea that he is making a dollar and is going to use the dollar for his own comfort, cannot have a very peaceful mind. But if one has an object in life, to attain certain things which will be helpful to others, and whose day is filled with that sort of work, that individual deserves,—and other things being equal, —will have an old age.

Truth, duty, love,—obey their command and when you do you shall find age a fiction and life alone a reality. What if old age be without teeth and eyes if it be not without hope and faith and fadeless memories!

“To suffer and endure,
To keep the spirit pure—
The fortress and abode of holy Truth—
To serve eternal things
Whate’er the issue brings

This is not broken Age, but ageless Youth.”

If then life be centred on self, old age may rest in the certitude of disappointment and disillusion. But if self be centred on life, then may come what Morley described, touching Edmund Burke, as “an unrebelling temper and hopes undimmed for mankind.”

Twofold must be the hope of man,—for a future for self and for the future for all. And when the soul is so freighted with hopes, then shall it be said of a man as it was said of the great poet: “He was one of those on the lookout for every new idea and for every old idea with a new application, which may tend to meet the growing requirements of society; one of those who are like men standing on a watch-

tower to whom others apply and say, not 'What of the night?' but 'What of the morning and of the coming day?' "

My one word of counsel is,—let life not be centred on self, for to live for self is to invite cruel disaster in old age. The saddest, in truth the most tragic lives I know are those of old men and women who have nothing to live for because they have lived for self and self alone and self is nothing. Their lives are piteously empty. For the restlessness and excitement of youth may hide this truth, but age, like death, is a revealer. And there are many types of selfishness. I speak of two which must suffice. There are those who live for self,—for selfissimus, giving not the utmost for the highest but all for the highest,—self, self, self, self's pleasure and profit and power and vantage and fame. These are the most crude and obvious types of the selfful, who shall pay the penalty of their folly and their moral disease.

But, though it be said to your dismay, there are other types of selfishness, though less obvious,—the selfishness of those who project self into and magnify self in family relationships. For there are those who simply extend the horizon of self enough to include other forms of self, one's own, one's nearest, one's flesh and blood. And here, too, disillusion is bound to come and ought to come, for one's own cannot and ought not fill one's life forever. One might well excuse our mothers and fathers for giving their thought and attention to their own, for these were many and life was hard and life's struggle oftentimes bitter. But for the fewest is such excuse valid now,—if ever it was valid,—especially seeing that we con-

concentrate upon the giving to others of things rather than upon helping others to their highest and best. In truth, people concentrate upon self, upon their own interests and wishes, and these things pass and little or nothing is left in life save self. Live for yourself, and you live two years in one; live in the life of others, and you divide your years with another.

Is not all this a paraphrase of what Emerson has said better than any other? He who loves is in no condition old. Not lives and lives for self, not loves self and self alone, but he who loves! Emerson, building better perhaps than he knew, has voiced the deepest truth of the soul. Love cannot die and love will not let die nor yet grow old. And yet as a final word, and more needed than all else, I would say that there is only one way to grow old, and that too is the only way not to grow old. That way is to know, to love, to serve God.

“Grow old along with me!
The Best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made;
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, “a whole I planned,”
Youth shows but half: Trust God: see all
nor be afraid.”

The Russian Revolution*

We are met tonight, not, as has been our wont for a number of years, to protest against some Russian wrongs, to cry out, as we have oft been constrained to do, against some inhumanity and injustice of governmental Russia, but to rejoice in the dawn of Freedom's reign throughout the Russian Empire. As we tonight hail earth's hope reborn, our mighty sister democracy across the seas, as we celebrate the liberation of long-enslaved Russia, we are not loath to confess that since the day of Russia's freedom it is become more joyous to live and less hard to die. As we ponder over the wonders God has wrought and the miracle that has been achieved by the sons and daughters of men, there comes to us a new access of trust in man as well as a deeper faith in the divine sovereignty of the universe. We rejoice because the good which we for a century and more have enjoyed as a free people is to be shared by another of the great peoples of earth. We rejoice because into the family of the world's Republics there enters one possessed of the heart of a child,

* The above address was delivered before the Free Synagogue, Sunday morning, March 18, and repeated, with some changes, at a celebration of Russian Freedom at Carnegie Hall, Friday evening, March 23rd, 1917.

the valor of a man, and the nobleness of a woman.

Best of all, not only is the long-awaited Revolution come, but it is come without a sea of blood. We had thought and feared that, when the climax of generations of struggle should be reached at last, the hands of the leaders would be incarnadined by reason of an inevitable welter of blood. For half a century and more, the blood of the people has been shed, and now, triumph of triumphs, mercy is being shown to kings who never showed mercy, and magnanimity seems destined to mark the transition,—yea, the transfiguration,—of Russia, whose people for generations have known little save wrong and outrage, oppression and cruelty at rulers' hands.

Comparable almost to the words of Hebrew writ, engraved on the outer rim of the Independence Bell of Philadelphia,—“And ye shall proclaim freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof”—are the words of the Ukase of all the people,—“Yielding to the imperious demands of the national conscience, in the name of historic justice and in commemoration of the definite triumph of the new régime, founded upon right and liberty, we order general political amnesty.”

I am not without hope that so wide and universal may be the amnesty of and by the Russian people as to include even the Czar and all the house of the Romanoffs, so that one-time kings and kaisers may understand that the people alone are merciful even to the merciless, that the people alone are worthy of clothing themselves in the royal prerogative of pardon. Looking across the European Continent to the Turkish Empire, the pastor of London's City Tem-

ple, Dr. Joseph Parker, maddened by the thought of Armenian massacres, once burst into the imprecation,—“God damn the Sultan of Turkey.” I would have the Russian people prove their superiority to royal pretenders, whether Romanoffs or Hohenzollerns or Hapsburgs, by exercising forgiveness toward those who never showed mercy.

One drop of bitterness is in our o'erbrimming cup of joy tonight, the bitterness which is born of the remembrance that we, the greatest of democracies, did little for our brothers struggling toward the light. I know that it was not possible for our Government to have part in nor to sanction help from our nation to the Russian people, long in revolt against that despotic misrule which called itself government. Americans generally, other than the Russian exiles here resident and a handful of the Friends of Russian Freedom, led by the indomitable spirit of George Kennan, under the auspices of whom this meeting has been summoned, have viewed the decades of toil and agony on behalf of a new order in Russia with the sympathy and goodwill of detachment rather than with the eagerness of a passionate attachment to the ideals of liberty and democracy. As I for years have thought of Russia, of its people's sufferings and of the martyrdom of its best, I have come to abhor the maxim of prudence, *ubi bene ibi patria*, and have felt and sometimes said to my countrymen, let us dare to hold, *ubi male ibi patria*, wherever wrong is suffered and evil borne is to be the fatherland of my spirit until the evil be overcome and the right triumphant.

We as Americans have never quarrelled with the

Russia of our admiration, with the Russia of our love. We have been frankly out of sympathy, as Americans and democrats, with those benighted and blighting forces in Russia which have at last been overwhelmed by the powers of liberation. The best within the life of Russia, the glorious tidings that have come out of Russia in these days, do not surprise multitudes among us who have ever looked upon and loved Russia as a land of unlimited spiritual possibilities, who have known Russia not by her Goremykins but by her Gorkys, not by her Trepoffs but by her Tolstoys, not by her Plehves and Pobiodonostseffs, but by her Lvoffs and Karen-skys and Milyukoffs.

The love of Russia, conversely, has long gone out to America's liberators in the spirit, to our Emerson and Garrison, our Walt Whitman and our Lincoln. In truth, Russia has in this hour reaffirmed and widened the meaning of the truth uttered by Lincoln,—a house divided against itself cannot stand. this Republic cannot exist half-slave and half-free. The Russian Revolution proclaims to all men that the world cannot exist half-slave and half-free. Slaves will drag freemen down or else freemen must lift up slaves. That, too, is the meaning of the war, and is to be its outcome,—the enslaving cannot forever stay the power of human emancipation.

Fitting, indeed, it is that this assembly is enabled through the genius and the generosity, alike, of an American artist, George Gray Barnard, to offer a statue of Abraham Lincoln, liberator and democrat, to the Parliament and the people of Russia as a gift of Americans to Russia in token of our rejoic-

ing over the advent of Russia into the family of the free nations. That statue of Lincoln, the emancipator, will stand as abiding reminder of the truth that they who would not be slaves must free themselves, that no people is worthy of freedom for which it is not ready to battle and to die, that the liberation of a people must come out of its own heart and soul, even as the American Republic was lifted to a new eminence of freedom by the giant soul of a child of the common people, Abraham Lincoln. That figure of Lincoln shall long stand as a reminder of the help and inspiration which the American and Russian peoples have been and are to be to each other, of the Emersons and the Lincolns who have fortified the heart of the Russian people battling upward towards democracy, and of the imperishable influence and inspiration of Tolstoy, Russian liberator of the spirit, moving the American people and all peoples to a new and higher conception of world-democracy and world-fraternalism and world-peace.

As a Jew, I rejoice not only in the triumphant outcome of the long and heart-breaking struggle, but in the part which the bravest and the noblest of the Jewish youth of Russia have had from the beginning to the end in that titanic conflict out of which emerges the Russia of freedom. My people have rendered many and deathless services to the cause of human liberty in all the centuries of Israel's life, but, I dare to prophesy, the annals of Israel's proud story will contain no more shining page than that which will tell of the fadeless and deathless achievements of the young Jewish men and maidens of Russia, who were not suffered to live in the old

Russia, but who have gloriously dared to die for the new Russia. The Jewish people face the Russian future without fear. The people of Russia have never been unfriendly to the Jew. The Russian people will not and cannot become unfriendly now. Such anti-Jewish feeling as has, alas! often stained the story of the Russian Government has, we have always believed, been for the most part State-manufactured, bureaucracy-instigated, church-sanctioned. We do not fear to trust the fortunes of the Jewish people to the Russia of the morrow. Our unimpaired hope is in the Russia of justice, in the Russia united and indivisible, of equal rights for all.

In other days, within and without Russia, the racial prejudices and religious bitternesses were fostered of set purpose by dynasties and bureaucracies, by diplomacy and militarism, in order to make war possible and even inevitable. The peoples never set out to hate and to wrong one another. For my part, I believe that the German people have been shamelessly betrayed into the bitterness of hatred of the world, that they have been given over to moral death by that Hohenzollernism which must perish from the earth if the world is to live and the nations are again to dwell side by side upon the terms of neighborliness and in the bonds of fraternalism.

How this stupendous event, the self-emancipation of Russia, simplifies a very grave problem for some of us, for those among us whose sympathy and devotion throughout the war were in some degree qualified by reason of the inclusion of the greatest of autocracies within the group of the Allied peoples battling for the liberty of nations. Some of us did

not falter nor swerve. We faced the truth with sorrow, but we devoutly believed that in Russia the change was bound to come, in part because of the will of the people and in part because of the alliance with two of the foremost democracies of earth. It is come! Yea, though Russia should choose in the end to preserve the form of monarchy, the fact of democracy is at hand, and ghastly folly would seem the spectacle of the so-called Divine Right of Kings. Speaking for myself, I would make clear that I was pro-Ally before this day despite the Russia for which I hoped. Now I am pro-Ally because in part of the Russia in which I believe. The Ally in name of France and England, of Italy and Belgium, is become their Ally in spirit and in truth. The issue, if possible, is clearer than ever before. Russia has proved herself worthy to be the comrade of glorious France and unconquerable Britain in the mighty warfare of human liberation.

Let us remember that the revolution is the beginning and not the end of national story, that Russia's task is no more done than is the task of the American democracy. Monarchies survive automatically, democracies develop purposively if at all. Democracies go on or they ought to go out. 1776 is the beginning and not the end of the American Republic. The American democracy is not,—save in the making. Democracy will never be achieved by those who are fearful of its consequences, by those whose trust of the people is partial and selective rather than complete and inclusive. Let it be said at once for the benefit of those who eagerly await the failure of the Russian Revolution, that it may well be

that grievous blunders will be made by the Russian people and their agents, that moments of reaction are bound to come,—but Russia will never go back. The sons of Russia will, upon the battlefields of Europe, seal with their blood the unshakable faith that their self-liberation is but the prelude to the liberation of what of Europe is still enslaved.

Solemn and portentous is the event to the whole world,—and not merely to impotent kings or to omnipotent kaisers. Only the first,—perhaps we should say another,—of earth's great wars against privilege has been won. Let all the kings and princelings of earth be warned. The days of caste and privilege and monopoly are ending. These things shall cease to be heritable. In every generation the peoples are to resume their own sway. Our Emerson saw it,—

“My Angel,—his name is Freedom,—
Choose him to be your king;
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but toil shall have.”

How little the event was dreamed or imagined. The war began in part as a conspiracy against the people; the war will end everywhere as the people's triumph. Heretofore in war kings have always won and the peoples have always lost. Only one outcome of the war is thinkable, but no matter how it event, the peoples have won. Yesterday, Kaiserism in Russia was the mainstay of Russian Cæsarism, even as the Kaiser's soldiery served as the second-line, man-hunting constabulary to the Russian Govern-

ment. On the morrow, the hosts of Russian freedom will summon their Western neighbors to the dawn so that, though Kaiserism has been the curse of Russia's millions, these will yet hearten the Kaiser's subjects to be free. Would that we, the American people, might in this hour of crisis take to heart the truth that the important thing is not to war upon governments that offend us, but to help the people, whether in Russia yesterday or in Germany today, to seek to wrest their freedom from blighting despotism.

The day of world-peace is at hand. Kings and kaisers will nevermore desire war. For the armies have failed them. If soldiers can no more be trusted to be Cossacks, if the people can no longer be Cossackized when clothed in the uniform of the soldier, then kings will conclude peace, for they shall have found the work of soldiery to be forever done. Let kings of power and privilege in all lands be warned that the armies can no longer be trusted. In the light of the Russian Revolution, what king by right of birth or wrong of accumulation will trust armies to crush the people, whether at home at the behest of the marshals of industry or even abroad at the bidding of trade-hunting, debt-collecting captains of finance? The conspiracy of kings and armies against the people is forever ended.

"God said, I am tired of kings,

I suffer them no more;

Up to my ear the morning brings

The outrage of the poor.

Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave;
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.

I cause from every creature
His proper good to flow:
As much as he is and doeth,
So much he shall bestow.

Today unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!"

Our thought in this hour goes out in sorrow to all the countless martyrs of the Revolution. When first the tidings burst upon our eager ears, we grieved for those who had fought, who, alas! had been overcome. We know better now. If we tonight sing the *Vae Victis*, it is not for the dead of freedom nor for the deposed of tyranny, but solely for those who have not dared to die for freedom. Never were choicer spirits slain than they who offered up their lives in the cause of their people's liberty. They have triumphed and the song we sing tonight is but the echo of that invisible choir of the martyrs, whose music is to be the gladness of the world whenever

men nobly live and dare greatly to die.

Arming us with a new courage, investing us with a new strength, lifting us to heretofore unreached heights of self-reverence, we think of them who are yet to be free, the multitudes of never-disfranchised souls in the wilderness of Siberia, the millions, as it were, incarnate in Breshkovska, the little "grandmother of the Revolution." Tonight we remember her immortal word, not only because it was prophecy touching the event we celebrate, but because such is the inherent majesty of its truth that it deserves to be spoken anew and proclaimed to all the world. Upon the eve of another sojourn in the darkness and captivity of Siberia, the soul of this woman was equal to the prophecy: "Something will come of it yet; something will come of it yet."

Something did come of it; much did come of it. Everything is come of it. Let the pilgrims of the light be undiscouraged and undismayed. True it is of every warfare for truth and right and justice,—something will come of it yet. Let us dare to face the question,—what if the cause of Russian freedom had failed, had continued to fail? Would it be any less true or just if failure had continued to discrown the selfless efforts of the Russian Revolution? Dare we forget on the morrow that success is no test of the worth of a cause, that a cause if it be true is neither vindicated by its triumph nor condemned by its failure.

Not only is it true that the children of Russia were asked by the genius of their people to remember that it was a hard service which they took that sought to help her, but it is not true less in the

words of the genius of another nation touching those sons and daughters who have lived and died for her :

“They shall be remembered forever,
They shall be alive forever,
They shall be speaking forever,
The people shall hear them forever.”

Pilgrims of the invisible, pioneers of the hopeless hope, soldiers of the armies whose defeats are victories, the Russian Revolution commands,—Forward! March!

The World-War for Humanity*

More in sorrow than in anger—spoke the Shakespearean figure. I believe that I speak out of the mind of every man and woman in this great congregation today, when I declare that we think and speak at this moment without joy and without bitterness. If aught of joy we feel, it is the joy of a deep and solemn satisfaction that we are at last to bear our share of that almost insupportable burden, which our sister-democracies have been compelled to bear up to this day without our help and without our furtherance. Without bitterness do we speak because we feel none. Sorrow, deep, abysmal, heart-breaking, possesses our souls at this moment in the consciousness that the last great war-free realm of earth is to be added to the lands scarred and seared by pitiless war. Ours is elevation without joy and sorrow without bitterness!

Yet is it not wholly true to say as has been said that we feel neither joy nor sorrow, for a great joy has been vouchsafed to the House of Israel. We are celebrating a gladsome Passover festival, a festival of unwonted, unimagined deliverance, for we have lived to see the day of Russian freedom and it is good. An old, immedicable woe of Israel is ended. Our brothers

* The above address was given Sunday morning, April 8, 1917, before the Free Synagogue at Carnegie Hall.

have won the freedom which, throughout our history, we have dared to seek. Half of the Jews of earth that have long walked in the darkness of Eastern Europe have seen a great light, and you and I as Jews rejoice not only because Israel in Russia is free at last, not only because one hundred millions and more of the Russian peoples have bloodlessly wrested their liberties from the hands of tyranny, but because every war for freedom, whether it be the Russian revolution of yesterday or the world-war upon which we are to embark on the morrow, is a part of that wondrous story which began when, three thousand years ago, a Jew addressed a mighty king of his day and generation and in the name of the Eternal of the heavens uttered that mandate before which the kings and rulers of earth must bow: "Let my people go that they may serve Me."

Two ways are open in which to speak to my people this day. I might lament, as in truth I do, that the deed is done. The tragic choice has been made, a war between the German government and the people of the United States is become a fact, and we are gathered on this festive day in order to pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the prosecution of a warfare which shall never cease until earth's family of nations be free. But I would do more than to record the tragic fact that we have entered into the world's warfare. I am not satisfied to announce on behalf of you, my fellow-Jews, that in supporting the President and the government of these United States we are and forevermore shall remain loyal to the American ideal and the American hope. Though I abhor war, though I have fought militarism through-

out my days, though I have long believed that war is perhaps the most terrible of earth's sorrows, I dare to maintain that no leader of a nation has ever done more to avert war and to preserve peace than President Wilson.

Today the nation stands one and indivisible by the side of the President in battling for the liberation of humanity. The President has challenged the German people to throw off the Hohenzollern yoke and to take a place in the sun not to the exclusion of lesser nations nor for the domination of the world, but as a free and democratic people by the side of and in alliance with the free nations of earth. The American democracy is resolved to help set the German people on the pathway of freedom. The Germans must choose between Honenzollernism and despotism on the one hand and liberty and world-peace on the other. To us it is given to help the German people to make the fateful choice and to cleanse their name from the defiling shame of a pitiless Cæsarism. The new world-epoch will date from the utterance of the world's Magna Charta spoken for peoples of every race and faith and tongue by the President of these United States.

I must confess to you, though not for the first time, that even though throughout my life I have abhorred war, I have never been a neutral in respect of the European war. Two and a half years ago, on our New Year's Day, within little more than a month after the beginning of the war, I had sought to make clear to you that my own sympathies, my own hopes and my own prayers were with those Allied peoples that had been ruthlessly flung into a war which they did not

will. In truth, long before the outbreak of the war, I had felt and often said that a resurrected Bismarckism, if it were left unchallenged and unchecked, would bring ruin upon the whole world. I ceased to be a neutral on that day that found the brave little people of Belgium forced to pay the cost in the fabric of the beauty and the glory of their country, in the life of their sons, in the honor of their daughters, because, unwilling to treat an international compact as if it were a scrap of paper, they dared to be true to a solemn vow. I ceased to be a neutral when fair France was invaded by the armies of a government which, having found France inconvenient as a neighbor, was determined to destroy her very life.

Who could remain a neutral in thought and sympathy and prayer after men and women and children were slain upon the high seas in violation of every statute of the nations and every dictate of humanity? Who could be a neutral after the men of Belgium who had been left unslain were deported after the manner of an ancient imperium in order to add to the man-strength of the enemy? The war presented to the human race the most terrible moral problem which the nations of earth have ever faced, and, viewing the magnitude and reality of the moral problem, there could be no neutrality save for a time perhaps of official action. I must in all frankness confess that, if the German government had never sunk an American ship upon the seas, if the attitude of the German government toward our people had been unimpeachable, I would infinitely have preferred that we go to the aid of the Allied people than that Prussia be suffered to gain the victory, than that Prussian militarism

and imperialism should become the unchallenged victors over all the world, a consummation still more terrible and tragic even than war with all its awful and unspeakable horrors.

One great misunderstanding is ended by our entry into the war, a misunderstanding calculated to do us grievous hurt as a people, a misunderstanding which some of us belatedly sought to correct. Unhappily, the impression has gained currency that the American Jews were generally speaking on the side of Germany, in sympathy with the plans and purposes and principles of the Teutonic powers. The charge that American Jews were widely, if not uniformly, pro-German were almost as grave a calumny as an indictment of us at this time on the ground that we are pro-German rather than pro-American. During the centuries of our existence we have acquired the habit of assessing problems in the scale of moral values. Because we did that, the vast majority of the Jews of America could not avoid the decision against Prussia, had to take their part by the side of the vast majority of the American people in giving their sympathy, their moral help and their practical furtherance to the Allied peoples.

It is not inexplicable that this misunderstanding should have arisen. For one thing, the fact of the large number of German Jews of the earlier immigration, native or of German descent, led to the suspicion, however unjust, that Jews generally were on the side of Germany. The truth is, and I have deepest pride in the recording of it, that, save for a handful of outstanding names in the world of finance, the largest number of Jews, German-born or German-descended,

far from associating themselves with pro-German sympathies, were able to throw aside every consideration of nativity and descent and to judge the question as we have said altogether as a moral question.

One difficulty there was for some, though not for all, of us,—that of reconciling the ideal of a war for democracy with the inclusion of the Russian despotism and bureaucracy. And yet some of us did not swerve nor falter in our allegiance to the cause of the Allies. In September of 1914, I made bold to foretell that either the Allied nations would compel the Russian government to grant freedom to their people, or else the Russian people would demand and wrest their liberties for themselves. The prophecy was justified by the event, though not even the most hopeful among us dared dream that the event would come to pass until long after the war. It has come to pass, and, even if our own war with the German government had never come to pass, I believe that virtually all American Jews would have come to see as Jews and as Americans alike that it was our inescapable obligation to take sides, to take sides with France the glorious, and England the unconquerable, not because France had led the way in the matter of Jewish emancipation, not because Great Britain had been Britishly generous to its Jews, but because England and France, Italy and Russia, the four mighty European democracies, were waging the American battle. As Jews, we were pledged to the support of the ideals for which the Allies fought, and as Americans we were bound to give our sympathy and help to the cause of liberty and of justice.

Not many days ago, three American Jews sent a

message of congratulation to the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Russian government. That message, which was signed by three men, speaking, though without mandate, on behalf of a great number of American Jews, was not merely one of heartfelt greeting to the Russian people but an expression of the hope that victory might speedily crown the cause of Russia and her democratic Allies. That message was signed by Oscar Straus, statesman and diplomat, Abram Jacobi, physician and citizen, battler for that nobler Germany which, had it come to pass, would never have suffered this war to be, and your Rabbi, and every one of us was born within the Teutonic Empires.

The American people has not changed its mind touching war's horrors and war's woes. It is not the American people that has changed its mind but the German government that has for a time lost its mind. For my part, I do not abate one jot nor tittle of my life-long protest against the evil of militarism. In holding, as I do, that we have been driven into war who have done more than any people on earth have ever done in order to stay out of war, I do not compromise with the evil of militarism. The supreme object of this war must be and remain to free the world from militarism. Two things must we do that a war-waging people have never done before,—we must war without hatred toward the enemy, and we must have war without militarism in our inmost life. It is militarism that has dragged us into this war so that this becomes earth's war against militarism and to militarism there need not be surrender. If the question be asked,—how can one bring into accord a life-long

loathing of war and pro-Ally convictions, one can answer only by citing the fundamental question that has been put,—am I willing to assume responsibility for a German victory with all that a German victory would imply?

Must we, as has been urged, lose the best of our own possessions, democracy and individual liberty? Must we be Prussianized? Both positions are false,—the former, that we cannot be Prussianized, and the latter, that Prussianization is inevitable. We cannot **be Prussianized if we never suffer to pass out of our minds and aspirations the things for which we have entered into the struggle.** Whilst I can vent clamor from this throat, I will say of Prussia that it does evil. Let us, however, not forget that Prussia is a state of mind, not a place, and that that state of mind must be resisted and overcome wheresoever it chance to assert itself.

The soul of America need never be Prussianized provided we envisage aright the ends for which we are warring, provided we are equal to the greatness of our task, provided the nobleness of the leadership of Woodrow Wilson be matched by the dignities and the noblenesses of the American people. Then will Prussianism never invade the soul of America. But if we today wage war upon Prussianism, let them remember who today clamor for democracy for the nations that, if we fight Prussianism in Europe on the morrow, we shall war upon Prussianism within the American democracy whenever it dare menace the democratic hope and the democratic ideal. Let them who stand against Prussianism today be mindful that we can never go back to the things that were before the war,

that a new world is being created and that we shall not rest satisfied to achieve nominal democracy, whether for Russia, or for Prussia, or for ourselves. Any government that stands in the way of real and complete democracy, whether in Russia or in Prussia or in these United States must go.

Yesterday, we were divided; today we are united, with every surviving vestige of hyphenism gone. We are become a united and indivisible people fused together by a high and irresistible purpose, the purpose of investing ourselves, all that we are and all that we have and all that we dare hope to become, in order to have part in a war, which if rightly waged, will liberate humanity everywhere and establish democracy as the norm of the nations of earth great and small.

Will we be great enough to grant to every man the right to think and speak for himself in this time of crisis, abridging no man's liberty of conscience and freedom of utterance because of ill-considered and unjustified suspicion? We would have no attitudes unworthy of a democracy battling for democracy, attitudes such as moved a Director of the New York Board of Education to say of a worthy and competent teacher because he refused to sign an improvised and altogether gratuitous declaration of loyalty to the United States: "Here is a man who debased his citizenship." Instead of removing or punishing the teacher, the representative of the Board of Education who had made this un-American, I had almost said characteristically Prussian speech, should be removed from his post of honor because he has "debased his citizenship."

As for refusing to sign the declaration of loyalty to the United States, rightly or wrongly I did exactly the same thing. I held it to be an intolerable impertinence to ask me to sign it. I have little confidence in the loyalty of citizenship which must be attested by signatures to declarations. If by my life and service as a citizen of city, State and nation, I have not sufficiently proved my loyalty to the American people and the American ideal, that ideal which is nothing less than a religion to my soul, I cannot thus attest it. It is too early or too late. My attestation of loyalty has been made throughout my life, I dare believe, since the day I became a citizen of these United States, since the day on which my father by his oath of allegiance to the American Republic drafted all his children into the love and service of America.

For the same reason, when a few days ago I was invited to become one of the founders of a Society to be known as the America First Society, to be made up of men who, like myself, are not native Americans, I answered, I cannot join an America First Society because America is not first with me. America is first and second and third and last and there is none other. I know not how others may feel, native or foreign-born, but I require no "America First." Against those who dare speak out the truth as they see it touching any phase of the war that is now become, let there be no mobs, no mobs whether in shirt-sleeves or in broad-cloth. It were well to remember the word of Wendell Phillips, "The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

I would refer to-day to my pride, yea more than pride, in the word and action of a friend, honored and cherished, the minister of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah of this city, one of the bravest and noblest preachers of our time. We are not of one mind touching this war, though for years we have been anti-militarist fellow-workers. He has taken the perhaps more uncompromising position that war is never justified and that non-resistance must be the rule of life for individuals and nations from which there can be no departure without compromise and without sin. Nothing could be more splendid than his courage, unless it be the fine determination of the people of his church, even though they are not at one with him, not to suffer any denial of his freedom of utterance within their pulpit.

Prussianism is become the shame and confusion of the great German people, because of its insistence that all men shall think alike and speak alike, because of its insistence upon the regimentation of the intellectual and spiritual life of the people. I thank God for the consequence-scorning nobleness of a minister of religion, ready to lay down his office and to brave the frowns of the world rather than compromise with the truth as God gives it to him to see the truth. But the congregation of the Church of the Messiah matches the nobleness of its leader, for, though it does not stand with him any more than I do in non-resistant neutrality toward this war, it sets a new standard for the liberty of the pulpit to which it is the abiding distinction of John Haynes Holmes to have given a new honor and a new glory.

Democracy is not a word but a thing, the most real

thing in the world, and we have sworn fealty to her anew! Not only is the war become a world-war but it is a war for the world. Not only is it a war for the right, but a war for the right dare not be waged in the wrong way. We purport to be waging a war on behalf of democracy. Will we wage this war democratically? Our war for democracy will not be waged after the democratic manner and in the democratic spirit unless we have a democratic army, an army that shall be democratized from top to bottom, officers and men. A democratic army may not be a caste army, a class army. The leaders of the army and navy are not to be the sons of privilege and power alone. A democratic war ought to be fought by a democratic army, and a democratic army is to be achieved not through conscription but through voluntarism. A democratic army is an army of free agents, an army of men who have willed to invest themselves in a war. Is it not the business of the President of the United States to give a fair trial to that volunteer plan which ought to result in an overwhelming number of applications for places in the army and navy on the part of our youth who can be helped to understand that this is no mean and conventional war, that it is the war of a united and puissant nation battling for the world, for democracy, for human liberation, for world-peace?

If this war is to be fought democratically, it must not be suffered to impose its burdens upon future generations. The burdens which it entails must be equalized, not in the letter but in the spirit. The many will give all, themselves; the few must give much. If the President and his councillors resort to conscription, then have we the right to demand that there shall be

conscription of men and means alike or conscription of neither. Or are possessions to be adjudged so much more sacred than life that they shall not be assailed by conscription? Is life to be commandeered and not substance? That were not the American way, the democratic way. A publicist has put it well: this is the time to demand the equalization of sacrifices, the suppression of all extravagance and the payment of extraordinary expenditures out of current taxation, the heavier burden of which must be borne by those best fitted to bear it.

This is not a fiscal matter at all; it strikes at the very heart of the problems of a democratic people. Would not a warfare waged democratically and with statesmanship involve the immediate mobilization of our food supplies before it is too late, of all the nation's resources, while yet there is time to compel a thrifty husbanding of all our resources. If as is not unlikely, denial later become necessary, let the whole citizenship of the nation claim the privilege of practising the high art of self-denial. That men have made money up to this time out of the war has been morally calamitous; that this evil course should be continued, now that we have entered into the lists, is become intolerable, even unthinkable.

Because ours is a war of and for democracy, the war which we are to wage by the side of four of the great democracies of earth, England, France, Russia and Italy, some of us hold that the support that is to be granted to the families of the men enlisted in army and navy shall not be made a matter of almsgiving nor of charity, but that such support shall be democratized and nationalized. No other course is

worthy of a democracy fighting for democratic ends than to treat the families of the men fighting for democracy as a part of the nation at service, and not as if these were to be recipients of bounty.

Because ours is a war for democracy, we believe that the time is come for the immediate enfranchisement of the women of the nation. We have no right to purport to battle for democracy as long as millions of American citizens are arbitrarily and reasonlessly disfranchised. Let there be no abatement of the struggle for the enfranchisement of the women of the nation. It is little less than absurd that we should be entering upon a war for democracy as long as we refuse to accept the ultimate implications of democracy, which would not for a moment endure the disfranchisement of millions of Americans. One of the planks in the platform of a war waged for democracy must be that we are warring on behalf of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and that the women of the nation, who bear war's burdens as they bear the burdens of peace, must be included in the number of those making the choice of democracy for themselves and for all peoples.

Because ours is to be a democratic war, we believe that channels of communication should be left open as between the government and people of the United States on the one hand and those groups within the German people as passionately bent upon the democratization of the world as are we, those groups which with infinite courage and nobleness are battling for democracy under conditions that make that battle one of the sublimities of human hope and daring. Because ours is a war for democracy, we must demand that

when the day of peace come, the American people shall be represented by those qualified to speak for the hopes and ideals of democracy. The Peace Congresses of other days made for war rather than for peace because constituted of war-pursuing diplomats and war-waging soldiers. No representation of the American democracy at the Peace Council will be complete or adequate that does not include representatives of all the people, that fails to include a woman or some women. This is the time to urge that constantly upon the American people in order that they may understand that the women and children of the nations are just as truly at war as the men, and that the women and children of the nations will have as great and precious a stake in the outcome of the Peace Congress as the men.

If this is truly to be a democratic war for a people and against its government, we can prove it in no better way than by refusing to suffer hatred to creep into our hearts. We must be noble enough to wage this war on the one hand, with entire sympathy for Americans of German birth and descent who, for the largest part, are as deeply and devoutly American as any group of native Americans. On the other hand, we must keep our souls uninvaded by hatred and bitterness touching the German people against whose government we have been forced to wage battle. The time to insist that this is a war against the German government is not only at the outset of the war, but will be with us increasingly on the morrow as we begin to feel the bitter and murderous consequences of war. The American Republic needs a passionless enlistment of the whole nation and all its resources against Prussianism in order that the German people may be con-

vinced that they have been misled and betrayed by their rulers.

He who hates loses. Can we not avoid hatred of the German people by thinking of Germany not as the land of the Kaisers and the Hindenburgs and the Tirpitzes, though these alas have brought Germany to shame and humiliation. Dare we not will to be just to the German people by thinking of them as incarnate in one of the noblest of Germany's sons and one of the noblest of Americans, Carl Schurz? Let us even in the midst of war be so just as to think of Schurz as Germany, for he was the best of Germany and Germany at its best. Let us think of Germany as Carl Schurz who, were he living today, and young enough to bear a sword, would leap into the fray again and, as in 1865, lead an army on behalf of freedom. One of the noblest men I have ever known was a German. Whenever I read of Germany drunk, of Germany mad, of Germany obsessed by a very passion for the domination of earth's peoples, of German's ruthless violations of the laws of humanity, I shall earnestly try to put out of mind the Germany that for a time is amuck and think of one of the justest, noblest, Godliest men whom I have ever known,—incarnation of the Germany that was before the day of madness, embodiment of the Germany that is yet to be when self-liberated and self-determining.

Let us remember, too, that we have gained the confidence of the world in our plea for democracy because we have dealt with Mexico in the spirit of generosity and magnanimity. What right would ours have been to speak of war for democracy and of liberation for a fettered people if, heeding the demand of the dollar

patriots, we had gone into Mexico in order to despoil and to violate instead of to serve and to save? Warring for the liberation of the German people today, we shall never war against the self-liberation of Mexico on the morrow. We have set up for ourselves and for the world a new standard of practice as well as faith. Mexico and Cuba are our witnesses today. Had we sought advantage for ourselves in Mexico, the word of the President of the United States would have been a mocking. Even if Mexico or some other Central or South American Republic make an unwise choice for a time, dare we forget our covenant with the peoples of the earth? Is Mexico to lose its sovereignty and integrity because of some accidental Hohenzollern of the Latin race as its ruler? By our act in going to war for the liberation of the German people, we solemnly constitute ourselves for all time the champion of oppressed peoples, whether in Europe or in Asia, in Central or in South America. By the declaration of a state of war between the German government and ourselves, the South and Central American Republics have received a most solemn reaffirmation that war can never more be between us and that we are forever to become the friends and furtherers of their democracy and their freedom. I would rather have this government perish from the earth than that we should ever cease to be a people eager to support the determination of all peoples to achieve for themselves a lasting government of the people, by the people, for the people.

“United States! the ages plead,—

Present and Past in under-song,—

Go put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

Be just at home ; then write your scroll
Of honor o'er the sea,
And bid the broad Atlantic roll,
A ferry of the free.

For He that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in his plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies,
Ere freedom out of man."

An Englishman said of his own land not very long ago: "We went into war with clean hands ; we should take care to come out of it with empty hands." Let that become the principle and the passion of the American people. Even as we go into the war with clean hands, we must go out of it with empty hands, with hands unpolluted and undefiled. Finely has it been said, "This is a war not for profit, not for conquest." It is to be a war for profit, for the profit of the whole world. It is to be a war for conquest, a war for self-conquest on our part, a war of such self-mastery on the part of the first democracy of earth as shall prove it to be not only a war upon autocracy and despotism in every land and among all peoples, but a war to the end that nation shall not take up sword against nation, neither shall the peoples learn war any more.

To the youth of the nation I turn and bid them,—
Lift up your hearts! Banish the trivial and
the unworthy. Purge your souls. I would have such

an overwhelming response to the summons of the nation as to make involuntary service not only needless but an insult to a people nobly roused. Let our conduct at home, in the shop and in the factory as well as on the battlefield, by land or sea be equal to the dignity of the great event.

The American nation faces a supreme test in this hour,—not the searching test of battle by land or sea. We have no doubt of the outcome of that. The test is more grave and critical for there are defeats that are honorable and there are victories that are dishonoring. What if France and Britain had not stood like a rock at the Marne! France would still be victorious, unconquerably victorious, whatsoever triumphant vandals might inflict upon her of hurt and damage. The test lies in this. Dare we be equal to the nobleness of the message of the President of the United States? Are we equal to the burden we have undertaken to bear, the burden of warring selflessly for humanity, of warring in democratic fashion for democratic ends, of establishing a peace without profit to ourselves, of conserving and magnifying the good of all nations even at our cost? The question is not whether we shall successfully wage war upon the German government, but whether we shall be equal to the infinitely more difficult task of gaining the victory without losing our own souls, whether in addition to triumphing over the forces of German militarism on land or sea, risen to and abiding on the high level of the President's challenge on behalf of democracy, we shall be great enough to suffer no malice nor uncharitableness to damn our own souls.

We have embarked upon the greatest adventure in

history. We have set out not to gain the whole world nor any of the world, but to save the soul of liberty and democracy. We proclaim anew the world cannot exist half-democratic and half-despotic. We want nothing for ourselves save that which all nations should of right possess. May we be equal to the urgency of the task and the greatness of the destiny. The Old World gave life to the New. Let the New World bring liberty to the Old. The American democracy goes forth puissant and indomitable, not in the fear of defeat for self, but in the hope of triumph for liberty, for justice, for democracy, for the peace of the world. Upon that warfare, upon that great and solemn undertaking I dare to ask the blessing of Almighty God to the end that free America may free the world.

O land, thus blessed with praises that excell,
'Tis now thy task to prove these glories true.

Can We Win the War Without Losing America?

Can we win the war without losing America—may sound like a strange question, but it expresses a deep and anxious self-searching of our souls. It assumes the truth that to win the war and to keep the soul of America are parallel, yea, identical, aims.

We have gone into the war not because of the Lusitania nor yet because of the Sussex, nor in truth because of any single ferocity of under-sea warfare, but because these and similar things represent a type of national mind or rather of governmental theory which will either subdue and conquer the world or be overcome by it. To the task of repressing and of combating this world-menace that nations may again dwell amid security and all peoples emerge from under the shadow of the destroying sword—chiefly destructive of the soul of the nation that wields it—we have resolved to dedicate our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

In a sense, it is true that we fare forth into the world of war on behalf of the American ideal. But we war not in order to impose the American ideal—for that were after the *more Germanico*—but to save the peoples of earth from the abhorrent necessity of yielding to the attempt of a masterful sovereignty to

impose its will and even its way upon their national existence. Not that the question is as between the Prussianization or the Americanization of the world—the super-imposition of the one were as evil as the other—for we hold that no people, great or small, shall be forced to abate one jot or tittle of its national and spiritual sovereignty by the will or the power of any other sovereignty. In a word, we have gone—not merely been driven—into the war in order to re-affirm and to re-establish, it may be for all time, the truth that every people shall be free to be itself, that its will to live as it will (under obvious limitations) is incontestible, that the soul of every nation, which implies its will and capacity for self-realization, must be inviolate and unassailable if a just international order is in truth to be achieved.

May we not put the matter in the simplest terms? We fare forth to shield the souls of nations from destruction by a brutalizing sovereignty. Shall we in the process submit not to the destruction of our sovereignty from without but through self-surrender to the impairment and undermining of our spiritual sovereignty from within? Happily for the fortunes of the American Republic, the question is not one of gaining the whole world or of losing our own soul, for we have no world nor any part thereof that we will to conquer—but of helping the world to regain the mastery over itself and yet in the process of losing not our own soul.

Can we win the war without losing America? The answer is—nothing that is hurtful to America can be helpful to the cause of victory. The term “hurtful to America” suggests itself because of the oft-quoted

word of a member of the English Parliament, "A large portion of our elementary school system is in ruins. I will not say as desolate as the ruins of Louvain, but there is to some extent a likeness." There are Louvains and Rheims of the spirit possible in our own land. The destruction of the Capitol at Washington, perhaps our chiefest architectural glory, would be less hurtful by far than the breaking down of such laws as safeguard women and men in industry and little children from industry.

Be it made very clear that the destruction of the Capitol by shot and shell of invading foe were not as grave as the conscious, willing surrender of the capital, keystone principles of our democracy. Once these have been suffered to surrender, the Capitol at Washington would remain nothing more than a sculptured memorial.

Let us frankly deal this morning with some of the tendencies and influences which we hold to be seriously menacing to American life, with those things that we cannot afford to do even in order to win the war. To do them is to lose the war; to have done them will have been to have lost the war, whatever be the outcome of the world's battle with the German Empire, whatever be the issue of the struggle of our gallant Allies on the Western and Eastern fronts with the arms of German militarism. Had this address been made a fortnight ago as had been planned, this pulpit would have lifted up its voice against what it conceived and continues to believe to be the unwisdom of conscription by any name until after a fair and ample trial had been given to the cause of voluntarism. Had the President with his matchless power of appealing to the

soul of the youth of America summoned our sons to volunteer for war service at home and abroad, I believe there would have been such an overwhelming response as would have been the final proof that the vast majority of the American people are unreservedly at one in the support of the President in his determination to check the forces of autocracy wheresoever they menacingly lift up their heads.

Though as loyal American citizens we bow to the will of the Congress of the United States insomuch as for a time in any event it is representative of the will of the American people, let us not be unmindful of the incalculably important distinction between emergency war-policies and permanent peace-principles. Let those who rejoice over the acceptance of the principle of war-conscription by the Republic understand that conscription is for the period of the war and that those of us who are most in earnest in believing that our war is a war for democracy are of the conviction that after the war, and as a result of a just and democratically ordered peace, there will be no need for conscription either at home or abroad, that the day of vast standing armies shall have passed forever. But whether or not militarism is to cease, whether or not the shadow of militarism is to continue to enshroud the world, there are some of us who mean earnestly to lift up our voices and put forth every atom of such strength as may be given us to the end that involuntary or conscript military service shall not become a part of the American program and of the American ideal.

Let us dwell particularly this day not so much upon the things that have been done that some day are to be undone, with temporary or emergency war measures

that are certain to be repealed when once the crisis of the war has been safely passed, but with obvious tendencies in American life today which must not be suffered to engraft themselves deeply upon our national polity. Sedulously must we distinguish between those acts which are tolerable, perhaps even inevitable, as war measures, and those which are not even debatable in times of peace. Certain tendencies do in time of war gain a hearing and demand the enactment of measures which cannot be suffered even for a moment. There are elementary and inviolable sanctities of a democratic order, which to waive for a moment is to destroy them forever, such sanctities as politically the right of public assembly never to be relinquished or abated even for one moment, and industrially the right of little children to remain unimpressed and unconscripted by industry.

However, it is not enough to urge that the temporary or provisional disarrangements shall not be made permanent. Certain things are happening today which would be fraught with deepest menace to the nation if these were to become embodied in the permanent program of our national life. On the other hand, the government and the people of the United States are taking forward steps which can nevermore be retraced. We are thinking and acting solely in the terms of national well-being, and in so doing we are committing ourselves beyond the hope of repeal to new ways of national living, to new methods of serving the commonwealth.

To name but one item in a program of farthest-reaching consequence, the government is prepared not only to conscript arms-bearing warriors but tool-wield-

ing toilers. If it should prove to be necessary, the government will hold itself free to draft mechanics in one State and artisans in another, and transport them to the States on the Coasts or of the lake regions where they may be required to build the ships of which we and our Allies are increasingly in need. So be it, and so ought it to be! If, however, our government may employ and even over-employ men now, who will say that the government will ever again suffer such a crisis of unemployment as obtained two years ago? Then men and women and children, through no fault of their own and altogether because of the industrial dislocations incident to the outbreak of the war, suffered, even starved. Our government lifted not a finger in their behalf, and a winter of misery was endured by millions with little or no relief save such as came through the accident of re-employment in war's and related industries. If men should and must toil at the government's command now, then should and must the government employ the involuntary unemployed in justice to the workers who are now being conscripted. If the government may conscript the worker in time of war, the worker may conscript the government in time of peace—as a measure urgent and extraordinary of public safety, of national self-protection and self-conservation when widespread unemployment, ever the result of the want of prevision and statesmanship in industry, and consequent poverty wreak irreparable hurt upon the life and morale of the workers and their families.

If we are to win the war without losing America, we dare not commit the grievous blunder of sacrificing in the fancied interest of war those industrial

standards which have been built up in order to safeguard democracy. In urging as does this pulpit in common with many men and women who are deeply concerned that "the conservation of our human resources is a prime essential of national effectiveness," it is well to recall the report of a woman physician, who, after an intensive study of the labor problems in munition factories in ten States, declared "Everything that was needed for rapid production was pushed, and everything that was needed for the protection of the workers was postponed." The wisest and the sanest among us are urging in the terms of the American Association of Labor Legislation that this is the time "when we can best conserve our industrial army by maintaining the essential minimum requirements for the protection of the workers, when we should avoid the recognized mistakes made by European belligerents in breaking down hard-won standards in the early stress of the war, when our own standards in the interest of national effectiveness should be strengthened with regard to sanitation, safety, hours of labor, wages, child labor, women's work, social insurance, the labor market and administration of labor laws."

Above all, let us not sacrifice the children of the nation in order to win the war. Let us not war upon our children in order to destroy Prussian militarism and imperialism. Every other method and measure should be tried before suspending the restrictions which are imposed upon the employment of the children. Let us be warned by what have rightly been called the disastrous results in foreign countries among which we are told have been the increase of juvenile delinquency, the employment of greatly increased numbers of chil-

dren under the most adverse conditions, and the necessity of enacting special measures to protect the health of mothers and babes. Child labor must remain the last and not become the first recourse of America. Our children must not be permitted to pay the ruinous cost of war. Children must not be clothed in the back-breaking armor of war. The danger of lightly surrendering standards is shown forth by the circumstance that, while the Council of National Defense urged upon the Legislatures of the States the duty of rigorously maintaining standards as to the health and welfare of workers and that no departure from existing standards should be taken without the request of the Council of National Defense that such departure is essential for the effective pursuit of the national defense, the Legislatures in some States in advance of every suggestion or request are preparing indiscriminately to waive and to surrender all safeguards. These do not seem to understand what Owen R. Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee has clearly pointed out, that the policy of recruiting agricultural and factory workers from the school children, eleven to thirteen years old, adopted in Great Britain at the beginning of the war, already stands revealed as short-sighted, and standards too recklessly set aside are now being restored. Let us not outrun every need of national defense by offending against the workers—least of all the women and children of the nation.

Who are they that favor letting down the bars or lowering the standards of safety and protection for the workers? For one thing, they who under war's stern compulsion are prepared to make every concession and surrender to imaginary need; next the never-

thinking whom war least of all provokes to serious thought touching industrial safeguards and above all those whose peace program uniformly makes for the minimizing of industrial safeguards, who are ready to use the war as an excuse for repealing those measures of industrial protection which they have long abhorred. Let us be mindful of the lamentable truth that some of the battle against the conservation of measures for the safety of the worker will be nothing more than the mean device of mean little souls prepared basely to use the war as an excuse for warring upon the life of men and women and children toilers.

As grave, perhaps graver than all these, is the question that is before the American people at this hour under the terms of the Censorship Bill. A people does not rule if it cannot express itself with freedom. A people which is not free to express itself has ceased to be free to rule itself. Infinitely better some blundering by the press than the stifling of public opinion. Apart from what some of us believe to be the fundamental violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution of these United States in the attempted abridgment of the freedom of the press and of public assembly, one sorrows to record that the censorship measure has the support and sanction of the President and the Administration. Are we to win the war upon Prussianism by adopting the Prussian method of that curtailment of liberty which is the end of liberty? The press does well to serve the nation by protesting against any infringement of its liberties in the guise of an intolerable censorship. But on the other hand, it is almost well that this invasion of the liberty of the press be threatened in order that the press of the na-

tion be aroused to a sense of the danger of limiting the freedom of the people of the United States, not only the liberty of the press but the liberty of expression of every kind and character whatsoever.

It has been grievous indeed to note during the last weeks and months that the press throughout the land has for the most part been indifferent to vulgar and tyrannical attempts to suppress the inalienable liberty of expression of opinion by the people. Imperilling to the inmost well-being of the American Republic as were any measure looking to the censorship of the press, it were no more hurtful to gag and choke the press than to estop the least of American citizens from speaking his mind, from uttering his opinions so long, of course, as his word be not seditious and treasonable. This pulpit would have the American press not only triumphant in beating back and down this threatened impairment of its liberty, but it would solemnly adjure the press of America not only to safeguard its own liberty but every item and atom of the liberties of the people. The limitation of freedom, save under the obvious limitations of the common welfare, is its destruction. Let the press of America understand that there ought to be no censorship *of* the press, and that there ought to be no censorship *by* the press, that censorship by the press is just as deadly to freedom and democracy as censorship of the press. Each is fatal to the freedom of freemen. Then let the press of America not only remain free but keep free and unimpeded every channel of public expression and national communication, written or oral.

Much of what I urge rests upon the elementary principle, moral as well as political, first laid down by

Edmund Burke, that in all barter there must be some proportion or parity between the price paid and the value of the thing gotten. We have already paid the price, a heavy and a terrible price in that we have gone to war, and that we have taken our part in the great strife. Because we desire neither profit nor conquest, are we not the more justified in insisting that the price to be paid for victory be not too heavy, too terrible, too crushing, the more seeing that we war not for victory but for things infinitely more precious. On every side, we hear voices nobly protesting against the surrender of democracy, our democracy, the voice of them that cry that we are setting out not just to win a war but to win a war for justice, and that therefore there must be no weakening of adherence to fundamental American principles of liberty. A member of the Cabinet has put it well—that ours is a democracy: it would not be worth our while going into the conflict if, when we come out of it, we do not still have a democracy. A group of friends, speaking in the name of the American Union Against Militarism, have said with insight and penetration: “This war has been declared in the name of liberty and democracy. Let us not undermine our own liberty and democracy.”

A consideration of the highest importance must be borne in mind, if we are fitly to answer the question, can we win the war without losing America?—the number of those whose motives are not altogether unmixed, who will seek to win the war not for the sake of liberty and democracy but for some ulterior purpose not unrelated to personal gain or private advantage. While some of us consider the necessity for war, for any and every war, a thing infinitely regrettable, there are on

the other hand those who welcome this war because they hope that some of the things of militarism will not be shaken off for generations. We have not gone into the war in order to obtain new markets, but there are some men of affairs, who after the close of the war will clamor very strenuously that the mighty navy that has been built up should be used for the furtherance of market opportunities abroad. It is only one step from market-hunting abroad with governmental co-operation to debt-collecting by the navy under governmental orders.

We must be on our guard lest our purposes become clouded and our aims confused by reason of the rougher contacts of war. It is safe to prophesy that long before the close of the war men will arise and insist that we cannot forever be bound by the terms of President Wilson's message to the world, and that we have the right to seek some reimbursement of our outlays in the war. These will parallel and duplicate the lamentations of them who deplored the enactment of that covenant by the Senate of the United States which assured the uninvaded liberties of the Republic of Cuba, who sought to neutralize the effect of that statute which brought infinitely more honor to the American people than any martial triumph. It was a great thing for the President to have spoken and for the nation to have heeded his epoch-making message of April 2nd; the real test of the Republic will be at hand when we as a people are faced by the necessity of reaching the decision whether or not as a nation we are to be governed by the terms of President Wilson's Magna Charta in the day of peace.

This is the time for heart-searching, for testing the sincerity of the soul of our nation as we go forth to battle. Unconsciously, the most perfect measure of national preparedness was taken during the years in which amid almost intolerably provocative circumstances we scorned to be a Germany to our own Mexican Belgium. It was the attitude of the President of the United States toward Mexico that won for him and for us the right to utter a new Charter of Freedom for the race. Would not this be the hour for generous and satisfying reparation to the little Republic of Colombia which we once grievously wronged?

We need not leave our own land in order to do the things that shall prove beyond peradventure that it is true that we mean to be just within and without our national borders. We have been startled by the rumors of negro disaffection and revolt, rumors cruelly unjust to the negro race. The negro race is as loyal to the Republic as to the white race. Would not this be the happiest of hours, not merely for a gesture of generosity to the negro, but for such revision of our attitude toward him as shall make it possible for him to bear his part of the burdens of war with eagerness and even with rejoicing. Time and occasion are alike favoring. Dare we as a nation be greatly just, and in our passion for the nobleness of justice rather than the beauty of generousness, deal wisely and healingly with a great wrong in our American life? This plea is made not at the dictate of expediency, but under the impulse of a deep and solemn consciousness of wrong, under the impact of the will to fit ourselves for the work of securing justice from the mighty of earth and of meteing out nothing less than justice to the weak,

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yea the weakest. If, as has been said before in this pulpit, we are to go into the war with clean hands, our hands must be undefiled by wrong done at home to the unoffending.

I think of the great ends which we have set out honestly to attain, and recall that other nations, too, have set out before us upon high and honoring quests. And the manner of the quest became ignoble and the goal defiled, so that moral disaster was doomed to discrown all. I remember a high and great quest of centuries ago when the world willed highly that which, having not holily, it should have desisted to pursue. The holy quest for the recovery of the birthplace and tomb of the founder of Christianity degenerated into a crusade of blood and vengeance against the people made up of his brothers, and it resolved itself for the most part into a bloody and bestial debauch.

There are those who openly mock or grimly smile at our national program, maintaining that the end of this war is bound to be evil, not only because war ever brings curses in its train, but because we are certain to surrender some of the most precious gains of the democratic life, howbeit we have set forth to overwhelm them that are democracy's foes. I do not so believe, for my own is too great a trust in the power of my countrymen to achieve their purposes. We have set out upon a high and holy quest. We will not basely stoop in our pursuit thereof. We who enter the war without intent to do evil but rather to release them that are in bondage shall not so falter as to enthrall ourselves. If we can war without hatred of the enemy, can we not triumph without hurt to ourselves? We will no more than to serve the world and not to dis-

serve ourselves through deserting the ideals which are the soul of America.

Yet another reason there is for resolving that we shall not lose America as we strive to win the war. The war must and will be won by them who are ready to lay down their life to the end that victory may crown our arms. Whilst these set forth to win the war, dare we do less than determine that the aims of America on behalf of which they wage war, on behalf of which they are ready to dare and to die, shall not be defeated at home whilst through their service and sacrifice its arms triumph abroad? Whilst these sacrifice themselves for America, we must not sacrifice America on any ground whatsoever. We ask the young men of America to win the war. Let it not become needful for them to demand of us that we, who are to live amid security because of their service and their sacrifice, shall not lose their and our America.

Not very long ago, I was asked to have part in a "Wake Up America" demonstration from which I absented myself because tawdryness and vulgarity have no part in our international strife. The methods of the circus ring ought not to be associated even remotely with the most sombre event in human history. Wake Up America!—not only to the need of hard fighting which is inevitable, but the duty of preserving inviolate the high aims of this war. Wake Up America!—and wage a war without hatred, without bitterness, without vindictiveness, a war without indemnity exacted from others outwardly or from ourselves inwardly.

Wake Up America to the nobleness of our part in the strife not for profit to ourselves nor yet for punishment of others, but for the liberation of all peoples.

including above all the peoples of the German Empire, from Caesarism.

Wake Up America to the greatness and the nobleness of our quest, the making secure forever of the sanctity of international covenant and the rights of smaller nations, of democracy for all the world.

“The wind that fills my sails propels

But I am helmsman still.”

The winds that fill the sails of the American Ship of State are blown from the fields of bloody battle. Yet must the soul of America still be helmsman. Wake Up America and win the war for the world, but hold and keep holy America's soul.

No Jews Need Apply

Let it not be imagined that I speak without sorrow nor without the restraints of decent pride,—the more seeing that in the main protest is vain and that pleading is inconsonant with self-respect. That it is a deep and even agonizing humiliation to touch upon this theme at all, I must, however reluctantly, admit. If the question be asked, whether the subject, “No Jews Need Apply,” lends itself to discussion at such a time as this when the thoughts and energies of the whole people are occupied with the problems that arise from the prosecution of war, let it be answered that it is out of such elementary misunderstandings and hostilities as are those which make possible “No Jews Need Apply” that war is born.

Moreover, not only has the world-war resulted from the evils of human ill-will herein embodied and illustrated, but this of all times is the hour for adjustment, for a national Eirenikon, for the obliteration of all disjunctive rather than conjunctive hyphenisms. If young Jews throughout the nation were to arise today and say with respect to the army and the navy,—“No Jews Will Apply,” it were no worse than to persist in that fundamentally immoral, anti-American and anti-religious attitude which expresses itself in the familiar “No Jews Need Apply.”

I would not, if I could, push this Eirenikon through as a war-measure or as a truce-arrangement. Who,

however, can really hope for an international Eirenikon after the war if we cannot have a national peace in the midst of war? How are we ever to come to love our brother whom we have not seen save in battle, if we persist in ill-will respecting our brother whom we know and see?

The measure of humiliation that is involved in calling public attention as does this pulpit today to the caption "No Jews Need Apply," I will not even attempt to conceal. The number of appeals that have come to me in the accents of youth bewildered, pained, disillusioned, has moved me to believe that, far from making for strife and divisiveness, my word will be in keeping with the national counsels of peace and unity, if I bring home to some in any event the grave evil that underlies the proscriptive attitude expressed in the formula iterated with sickening frequency, "No Jews Need Apply."

It is not solely in the industrial world that "No Jews Need Apply" is become little less than statutory, though, in view of the magnitude of the Jewish population of this city, the employment of this formula in the realm of business would be portentous in itself. The truth is that "No Jews Need Apply" is of farther-reaching application, for the law which it involves is coming to be binding upon an increasing number of social and variously uncommercial institutions such as clubs on the one hand and schools on the other. As for those social institutions, known as clubs, people are and always will be free to choose their associates, to elect their own comradeships. But what could more clearly show forth the penetration of the life of college and university throughout the land by the spirit of caste

and class than the circumstance that no group of social clubs is more studiously and almost uniformly proscriptive with regard to Jews than those clubs which arrogantly expropriate the title of university and convert that catholic name into one of partisanship and particularity?

What answer shall be given to them who urge that it is the office of self-respecting Jews to fight and to fight openly and with every honorable means in order to combat and if possible defeat this rising tendency to shut out and to shut away the Jew from the common life of the nation? Times there are when recourse must be had to legal weapons, when it is legal rights that are invaded. But the use of the weapons of the law will do little, if aught, to correct and uproot tendencies which are not so much violative of the letter of legal status as of the spirit of American life and American institutions. It should not be forgotten that there are some things so elusive and indefinable, however evil, that they cannot be fought.

In a moment of distress touching another serious problem in the nation, which involves the adulteration of our religious life and the lowering of our moral standards, I turned to one of the truly prophetic teachers of religion in our land, and his answer was "You cannot fight a fog." One must wait until the sunshine dissipates the fog, until the sunlight of higher intelligence and finer sympathy dispels the mists of prejudice and ill-will. There are ways in which this evil must be fought, but the weapons to be wielded by Jews or Christians are not carnal nor outward but inward and spiritual.

Ere addressing ourselves to the question, what if aught can Jews do in order, if it be at all possible,

to minimize the evil effects of the wrongful "No Jews Need Apply," let us together consider, however, hard it may be for the individual to remember, that great may be the gains for Israel resultant from this proscriptive policy, gains to be jealously cherished and guarded. "No Jews Need Apply" is but a minor symptom of that world-attitude which helps the Jew to a serviceable self-scrutiny, which makes it possible for the Jew to retain a certain degree of objectivity even in the midst of a normally hurtful self-consciousness. Again, this world-attitude keeps fresh the Jew's sense of sympathy with the world's wronged and disinherited. The Jew's compassion is never-failing, touching individuals or peoples buffeted by injustice and beaten by oppression, for we, perhaps better than any of the historic peoples, understand the price of suffering. What people better understood than did we the intensity and the bitterness of Belgium's grief, for the Jewish fate for centuries has been not unlike the Belgian fate of weeks and months. "No Jews Need Apply" is a faint and bloodless echo of those wrongs which we as a people have so long endured, and at our highest with such dignity and patience, that our loving sympathy goes out in unstinted measure to Belgium today, to wrong-wracked Poland yesterday, and to any people or nation on the morrow which by our side steps into the ranks of the misunderstood and misprized.

"No Jews Need Apply" represents a world-attitude which for centuries has stimulated the Jew's spirit of forbearance toward them that wronged us. What Heine said in daringly irreverent jest of God,—that He would pardon, for that is His business,—might more

fittingly have been said of the Jew who has come to command the divinest of human arts, the art of forgiveness, bettering the lesson which Christendom taught the Jew, the lesson which Christendom unhappily for itself commended to the soul of the Jew not by compelling observance but oft and again by repelling breach.

Greatest of the gains which accrued to the Jew from the things aforementioned was the necessity under which the Jew found himself of making a decisive choice, the choice between the feebleness of self-obliteration and the strength of self-insistence. The frail among our fathers committed suicide in one way or another under the intolerable pressure of a pitiless world. The unyielding and the unstooping among our forebears lifted themselves up to a resolution which meant much to the spiritual fortunes of the human race as well as to our own destinies as a people—the ennobling resolution to live and not to die, the resolution more nobly to live in the despite of the challenge of the world ignobly to perish.

If there were and abide certain gains sequent upon the policy of calculated unfriendliness to the Jew, it is not less true, alas, that certain obvious injuries were wrought which affected the fibre of Jewish life. For one thing, “No Jews Need Apply” is a token of a relationship which evoked a Jewish self-consciousness keen and constant to the point of morbidness, thus entailing a burden under the strain of which the less hardy spirits broke down. But the real hurt done to the Jew by a world which expressed its hostility in a thousand ways,—of which ways “No Jews Need Ap-

ply" is nothing more than symptomatic,—made itself felt in two ways. Of these the one might be named minor and the other major, were it not for the truth that man's spiritual fabric is so finely wrought that even a lesser blow may leave a deadly cancer in its wake.

On the one hand, the antagonism which contemporaneously wears the mask "No Jews Need Apply" inevitably brought about the unworthiness of petty deceit and evasion and wile in the soul of the Jew in order that his body might live. The world sometimes wonders at what seems to be the readiness of the Jew to adopt the methods of deception and trickery, of unfrankness and indirection, in the world of affairs. But men seldom pause to consider that in a thousand ways the world made it all but imperative for a Jew to resort to wile and stratagem if he would maintain himself at all. Greater, however, and deeper is the wrong done to the Jew by the world, which removed the caption "No Jews Need Apply" chiefly from the doorpost of church and cathedral with the result that oftentimes in other days and in our own day the Jew, to his shame and the shame of Christendom, chose refuge in the hurtfullest of all evasions, the evasion of desertion, the evasion of apostasy. So true is this that I think of the Jewish tragedy enacted not so much when Jews have been ground down to the dust by the iron heel of an oppressing world as when Jews with shrivelled souls and pitiful rather than contemptible spirits bring themselves to the font of chapel and cathedral not in token of their quest of renewal of spiritual life, but as a proof that the world without has slain their souls.

If it be true that "No Jew Need Apply" raises a truly grave Jewish problem, it is not less true that it involves an equally grave Christian test. Somehow we will meet and solve the problem as we have not failed to resolve the myriad problems which the centuries have brought to our doors. But can Christendom endure the test? For "No Jews Neew Apply" is not so much the indictment of the Jews as the condemnation of Christendom. As it is, Christendom is faced by a most searching test as a result of the war. I am not of the number of those within and without the Christian life who maintain that the war signifies the utter and irretrievable breakdown of Christianity, but I do hold that Christianity, if it is to revive as well as survive, must address itself to the primal task of rooting out of the soul of the millions who dwell within its communion those hatreds which bred the war yesterday, which if suffered to abide unchallenged will again and again call forth those antagonisms of the spirit upon which war of necessity follows. "No Jews Need Apply" will not lead to war, civil or international, but as a resolve of the Christian life it shows forth that same disintegration of spiritual fibre which is expressing itself in the outward terms of slaughter and destruction.

A British publicist of note in an utterance addressed to one of the foremost of German scholars speaks of estrangement through arrogant incomprehension to all eternity as a mad and impossible idea. Must we of the House of Israel look forward to such eternal estrangement as shall not suffer to be banished the spirit that translates itself into the letter of "No Jews Neew Apply?" If banished this spirit is to be, it will

come to pass through those processes of education which not only enlighten the mind and clarify the will, but above all reform and ennoble the purposes of men. But if the change should not come to pass, then will it not be alone morally baleful to Christendom and perhaps even ruinous outwardly to us, but in addition, and perhaps first of all, fatally divisive of the spirit of American life. This were not the perpetuating of a hyphen, but the ruthless use of a jagged-edged cross-cut saw,—forever severing the bond of national life and the common purpose.

The processes of education, if they are to be undertaken by the leaders of Christian life and thought, must go down to the very roots of life, and aim at last and forever to eradicate the deepest-bedded causes instead of furnishing new or furbishing old excuses.

The processes of education must end the Christ-killing lie about the Jew and affirm anew the Christ-bearing truth of the Jew in the world.] Against every manner of envy and ill-will, of intolerance and unbrotherliness, must the leaders of the Christian life be prepared to do battle.

But what can Christians do with the regard to the "No Jews Need Apply" policy in the business world or the world social and educational. This pulpit dares to prophecy in this hour that the day will yet come when decent, sturdy Christians will take the only position possible in the circumstances,—if "No Jews Need Apply," then neither will Christians apply. Whence Jews are shut out we will not enter. This is a matter perhaps not to be argued about, for I am demanding more than conformity to the letter. I seek nothing less than a reformation of the spirit. If the Jew need not apply, if the Jew be shut out, I will shut myself out,—

will yet become the attitude of those who from the viewpoint of Christendom will choose what they shall then have earned the right to call not only the manly way, not only the American way, but the Christian way. That this is coming to pass, I devoutly believe. Some brave and noble spirits will go before. I know of them, men ardent in their sympathies, and catholic in all their contacts, who will not enter into any place or group or relationship from which Jews are shut out. Not very long ago, one of the knightliest spirits in American life declared in a document burning with wrath against the slaughter-house judgment that is implicit in "No Jews Need Apply,"—"I will not suffer my son to be enrolled as a pupil in any school which shuts out the son of my Jewish friend and brother." I ask for very much more than an attitude of feigned or even real regret from Christian men and women when they learn of the grievous wrong and injustice done in one place or another or in one way or another by the application of the principle "No Jews Need Apply." I ask for nothing less, pleading not in the accents of hopeless beggary but protesting in the spirit of invincible justice, than that in a world calling itself Christian no place be granted to the formula of hatred, of proscription, of bitterness, the formula of a self-approving Christlessness, "No Jews Need Apply."

Is there nothing the Jew can do in answer to the proclamation "No Jews Need Apply." The Jew can do much,—from one point of view, the Jew can do everything. For one thing, and it is not the least, Jews themselves must not lapse into the practice of suffering "No Jews Need Apply" to be adopted as a rule governing their own commercial and industrial

establishments, thanks to the penetration of those underlings who are quick to discern that some Jews are so fanatically bent upon imitating Christians as to be ready to adopt even the practice involved in "No Jews Need Apply." I know of certain establishments, industrial and professional, captained in whole or in part by Jews, which shut Jews out from subordinate places. It has come to me that it would be as easy for the occupant of this pulpit to be elected to the Presidency of the Ancient Order of Hibernians as for a Jewish youth or maiden to secure employment in some establishments partially or wholly under the control of Jews.

In the next place, some Jews must unlearn the basest, spiritually as well as physically, of all arts, the art of crawling on their bellies into places from which they are denied admittance as long as they remain upstanding and self-revering. It is nauseating to read and to know as I have known of fellow-Jews who, after having been contemptuously excluded from certain social affiliations year after year, will obtrude themselves upon such groups the moment the bars are let down, and even when "No Jews Need Apply" is withdrawn, not as a matter of higher principle but of lower selfish, calculating policy. As long as Jews so demean themselves as to move non-Jews to imagine that contempt and humiliation are peculiarly satisfying and joyous to the soul of the Jew, so long may Jews count upon the continuance of such a type of satisfaction from the non-Jewish world.

One thing the Jew can do, one thing the Jew must do as his answer to "No Jews Need Apply." On the

one hand, he must avoid giving justification for the persistence of the policy that is implied. On the other hand, and over and above all else, the life of the Jew, irrespective of "No Jews Need Apply" and all its consequences, must be an affirmation of the true, the noble, the holy. The Jew who offends must remember the truth, however deep be the injustice that underlies, that nine hundred and ninety-nine guiltless Jews will not save the thousandth, but that one guilty Jew suffices to condemn nine hundred and ninety-nine more. The Jew is adjudged not by the many that are worthy but condemned because of the few that are unworthy. The Jew is appraised not on the level of his highest and best but of his lowest and meanest. The noble Jew is hailed as exceptional; the ignoble Jew accepted as typical. Woe unto the son of the House of Israel who by reason of misdeeds adds to the burden borne by all the sons and daughters of his people.

If it be alleged, as I have heard it alleged, that "No Jews Need Apply" is adopted as a policy on religious grounds, we can but grimly smile at this defiling misuse of the term religion. If it be offered in excuse that the policy results from prejudice towards the Jews as a people, we must patiently hope for the outcome of those illuminating processes that shall light up the dark places of the earth's hatreds. If it be insisted that it is inconvenient to employ Jews in mercantile institutions because of the numerous holydays of the Jew, then must the Jew resolve that such holydays as are his must be observed in a spirit that shall grant him abundant spiritual compensation for the losses which holydays entail, and the Jew must dare inwardly to resolve that every day of the Jew shall be a holy day.

But if it be claimed, as it sometimes is, that certain offices in New York ought not to be asked to employ young Jewish women on their clerical staffs in view of their manners and their conduct, then two things must be said even though they give hurt to Jews and offence to Christians. We must turn to such Jewish women as unhappily are to be found in our cities, whose appearance and manners must of necessity shut them out from the company of decent and self-respecting folk, and we must say to them, "You who are a minority, though unhappily much too conspicuous, you of the vulgar-mannered, gum-chewing, nose-calsomined variety, are doing unspeakable hurt to great numbers of our young Jewish women of high ideals, of gentle bearing, of flawless life, who are misjudged and condemned because of you." And a parallel word must be spoken to some young Jewish men whose manners are offending because the matter of their life is indefensible, young Jews who are the tragic sepulchres of the one-time noble life of their people,—~~—~~ "Young Jewish men, you are inflicting immeasurable injury upon all the members of the House of Israel, because you have cast away the ennobling birthright of your people, because you have exchanged the enriching spiritual treasures of your fathers for the base and sodden materialism which is become your life. Minority though you be, the world without adjudges the majority of our people on the basis of your own unworthiness. You are not alone flinging your own lives into the mire, but you are morally guilty of the crime of shedding the blood of your brothers who bear the stigma of the guilt which taints your own lives."

"No Jews Need Apply!" What if this rule had always been in force! The world was in darkness, a

man was needed to shatter the idols of the twilight. Abraham could not have walked with and become the friend of God, if the rule had obtained "No Jews Need Apply." In vain would Moses have sought to deliver his people from a devastating bondage, and, hearkening to the very accents of the Divine voice, to proclaim the moral law to the heart of man, had "No Jews Need Apply" restrained him. The greatest of history's tribunes, wise, visioning and unafraid, would never have dared to proclaim "Justice, Justice shalt thou pursue," if upon them had fallen the shadow of the inhibition "No Jews Need Apply." And if "No Jews Need Apply" had been crystallized into almost statutory force nineteen hundred years ago, mute would have been the voices of that company of Jews in whose spirit Christendom purports to live. Had "No Jews Need Apply" been binding centuries ago, Judaism would not have come to pass, Christianity would not have been suffered to become, neither Sabbath nor Decalogue nor the ideal of the moral sovereignty of the universe, nor psalms, nor prophecies, nor gospels by which things man lives, would have become the gift of the Jew to the world.

Not very long ago, an Englishman declared to one of the leaders of the German people. "There can be no joining of hands with Germans until she has washed her hands of the pernicious theories of statecraft and military policy which have made her conduct of this war one long succession of crimes from the initial crime against Belgium downwards." We are not stretching forth our hands as suppliants. Whether or not we are to join hands with them that over the doorposts of school or club or business affix the words, "No Jews Need Apply," we bid them, "Wash you,

make you clean, put away the evil of your doing from before mine eyes." You are imbrueing your hands in the blood of the wounds of men ruthlessly inflicted by the cruelest of weapons.

To some this may seem an inopportune hour in truth in which to speak in this strain, for national unity is desired above all things. But national unity is not to be as a result of the waving of the Presidential wand. National unity can come about only through the striving of the spirits of men. In the battles that lie before us, young Jews will serve and sacrifice and die by the side of their fellow-Americans. Is it too much to ask that for the honor of Christendom and for the sake of the American democracy, it shall no longer be made impossible for Jews to live and to toil by the side of all other peoples throughout the nation?

"No Jews Need Apply!" The supreme answer will be given not by the non-Jew but by the Jew. It is one thing to suffer wrong; it is another thing to suffer wrong unjustly. The Belgians could not have lived through three years of a Prussianly-devised hell, if they had not been upborne by unwavering confidence in their own innocence and in the final triumph of right over wrong. I do not altogether grieve as I look upon the caption, "No Jews Need Apply." I almost welcome this challenge to the soul of the Jew. Shall we justify it, or shall we condemn it? Shall we merit the obloquy of "No Jews Need Apply" or shall the manner and the matter of our life become the crowning proof of the world's injustice to the Jew, so that at last the self-revering dignity, the self-uplifting nobleness of the life of Israel shall move the world not only to justice to the Jew, but to justice to all the sons of men.

“What We Are Fighting For”

1. And in the eighteenth year, the two and twentieth day of the first month, there was talk in the house of Nabuchodnosor, king of the Assyrians, that he should, as he said, avenge himself on all the earth.

2. So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth.

3. Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth.

4. And when he had ended his counsel, Nabuchodnosor, king of the Assyrians called Holofernes, the chief captain of his army, which was next unto him, and said unto him.

5. Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen an hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of horses with their riders twelve thousand.

6. And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment.

7. And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me earth and water: for I will go forth in my wrath

against them, and will cover the whole face of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them :

8. So that their slain shall fill their valleys and their brooks, and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow :

9. And I will lead them captives to the utmost parts of all the earth.

10. Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coasts : and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment.

11. But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them ; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them wheresoever thou goest.

12. For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand.

Judith II, 1—12

41. For the earth hast thou not judged with truth.

42. For thou hast afflicted the meek, thou hast hurt the peaceable, thou hast loved liars, and destroyed the dwellings of them that brought forth fruit, and hast cast down the walls of such as did thee no harm.

43. Therefore is thy wrongful dealing come up unto the Highest, and thy pride unto the Mighty.

44. The Highest also hath looked upon the proud times, and behold, they are ended, and his abominations are fulfilled.

45. And therefore appear no more, thou eagle, nor thy horrible wings, nor thy wicked feathers, nor thy malicious heads, nor thy hurtful claws, nor all thy vain body.

46. That all the earth may be refreshed, and may return, being delivered from thy violence, and that she may hope for the judgment and mercy of him that made her.

II Esdras XI, 41—46

11. For thy power standeth not in multitude, nor thy might in strong men: for thou art a God of the afflicted, an helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them that are without hope.

12. I pray thee, I pray thee, O God of my father and God of the inheritance of Israel, Lord of the heavens and earth, Creator of the waters, King of every creature, hear thou my prayer:

13. And make my speech and deceit to be their wound and stripe, who have purposed cruel things against thy covenant, and thy hallowed house, and against the top of Sion, and against the house of the possession of thy children.

14. And make every nation and tribe to acknowledge that thou art the God of all power and might and that there is none other that protecteth the people of Israel but thou.

Judith IX, 11—14

I have the right to speak out. I have never feared to be in a minority. I am not fearful today. Show me a cause, and I will speak out though alone. I have never held, "My country, right or wrong." Whenever I believed my city, state or country to be in the wrong, I have dared to cry out, and I have done it again and again. What is more, I have done it at a cost. My convictions, like my pulpit, are my own. I have ever held with another American of alien birth, whom the perfidy of Prussia gave to America, a patriot in peace and a hero in war. "My country, when right to keep right, when wrong to set right."

Today, my country is in the right. My country is not only in the right but it is wholly, gloriously, holily in the right, and I mean to proclaim this even though I find myself almost for the first time one of an uncomfortably large majority.

A word must be spoken in justification of those of us who have been peace men, opponents of militarism, who seem now to belie the professions of a lifetime. The easiest way to dispose of us is to hold that we were fair-weather friends of peace, and that the moment it became difficult and hurtful to remain peace advocates in that moment we scuttled like rats. Some of us think we may claim to have earned the right to respect for the integrity of our convictions on the score of unafraid speech and acts. But, I ask, what has happened to convert great numbers of us, life-long anti-militarists, into inflexible supporters of the policies of the President, supporters

of, to name a concrete embodiment of those policies, the reply of President Wilson to the peace-note of the Pope.

What is it, unless one lightly hold that we have succumbed to public clamor and stifled all convictions at its behest, that has moved us to keep these convictions in abeyance and to urge, as I urge today, that we cannot and will not consider peace at the instance of Prussia or of any witting or unwitting agents of Prussia. The only peace the American people will ever be prepared to consider is a peace which must be disastrous to every hope of Prussia's rulers or a peace made over their heads and perhaps over their bodies with the German people, returned to reason and humaneness after the dethronement of the war-mad lords, who have been suffered to defile and to damn the whole German people.

What is the secret of the transformation of us who have been life-long anti-militarists into unequivocal supporters of the government and its war-policies? And, may I not parenthetically ask the further question,—have we not the right to cherish a sense of grievance against a government, which makes us feel that such is the German-led conspiracy against the peace and well-being of the world that we must first save the world as best we can before we dare hope to free it from the curse of war? The answer to the question,—what has moved us to waive or to seem to waive our faith that war is never justifiable has been given adequately, as far as we are concerned, by the course of the President of the United States since August, 1914. He willed, as we willed, not to enter the war; he believed, as we believed,

that the cause of just and durable peace would best be furthered by keeping our continent outside of the war zone, not that we might softly and meanly save ourselves and our sons, but that we might greatly and nobly serve a war-wearied world.

In all this,—the personal reference must be forgiven,—I was not neutral, not for one moment since the war began. I did not choose to side with the Allies. Prussia and Prussianism left me no freedom of choice. Prussia made a choice unnecessary, even impossible, since the beginning of the war to all those whose power to judge morally was not deadened by a sense of mistaken loyalties.

Is there any man who imagines that, because his mother or father was born within one of the Central European States, he must be a supporter of the present German government? I loved and honored my father, who was a native, and throughout much of his life a citizen, of one of the German Empires, but I will not dishonor my father in his grave by believing that if he were living he would not have felt as deeply as I feel that no room must be left in the world for that species of organized criminality temporarily invested with the name and title of the German government. It were a poor and woefully mistaken loyalty on my part to assume that my father would have condoned and even commended the Prussian way of "live and not let live", which is abhorrent to the soul of every just being.

The President not merely willed to keep us out of war but throughout nearly three years of irritation and insult, of contumely and outrage, he achieved

the miracle of keeping us out of war. Why did the President in the end lead us into the war? Because he saw that we were not so much challenged to war as to defend the elementary treasures and sanctities of life in the only terms intelligible to that band of militarists who had brought hurt to half the world and shame unutterable to their dumbly trusting and therefore unrevolting peoples. They who cry out that we at last yielded to the war-impulse and the war-hysteria forget or will to ignore the three years of unexampled patience on the part of the American people and our leader, and that we have not so much gone to war as set out to stay the fury of a desolating forest-fire, its murderous flames fed of human will and purpose. If in the process we, starting back-fires, must put our hands to weapons of force and fury, the fault before God lies not in ourselves but in those creatures of blood and iron whose last war this was in truth to be. None other would have been necessary if their work of terrorism had been well and quickly done in accordance with long-time and foul plotting. This is to be our last war that it may never again become possible to renew the criminal aggressions through which Germany planned to make war forever impossible.

We have frankly and fully given the reasons which have moved not a few peace advocates like myself to see that we could not serve Prussia better than by dealing with this war as if it were just another in a series of wars for land plunder, for trade spoliation. In the light of our candid confession, we may venture to turn to the People's Council with its resounding demands for peace and briefly

consider the character of its leadership. Included therein,—let us be just,—are some men and women of blameless integrity, who hold that war is never justifiable, who therefore are opposed to the war in which we are engaged and to its vigorous and triumphant prosecution.

These are the pacifists in whose eyes England and France were as guilty yesterday,—and we today,—as was and is Germany of the crime of war. Perhaps even guiltier than Germany, for if the latter had met with no armed resistance in Belgium and France on the West, in Servia on the South, in Russia on the East, instead of bloody war, we should have had peaceful, even benignant, penetration of all these lands by unchallenged, and therefore unoffending, Germany!

But groups other than the uncompromising pacifists are to be found in the leadership of the People's Council, and these, mindful of the seriousness of my charge, I accuse of readiness to accept an outcome of the war, which would not bring peace to men but seal the dominance of the sword in the world. Numerically strongest in the leadership of the People's Council is a group of Socialists, not of the parlor or drawing-room variety but of the basement and cellar type, who, like their German colleagues from the beginning of the war, have served the interests of Germany rather than that genius of internationalism which is supposed to preside over the councils of the Socialist Party. These American Socialists have not frankly admitted that they were pro-German, but, if their lead had been followed, we should have remained permanently neutral as between savagely of-

fending Germany and all her desolated victims. The Socialist Party has, we have come to see, been politically and morally tainted by the German captaincy of a nominally internationalist movement, and we are rejoiced to see some brave spirits step out of the Socialist ranks and protest, to use the vocabulary of Socialism, against a completely bourgeois acceptance of the Prussian program by the rank and file of American Socialists.

The strict and straight pacifist attitude is intelligible, however gravely erring we deem it. Even the Socialist position is not inexplicable, tho lamentable from the viewpoint of those who had hoped for a helpfully international mind in Socialist circles. But there is a third group dominant in the People's Council, its supermen, to use what is not unfitting in the circumstances,—a bit of German terminology. These impromptu peace advocates tell us: "We have come in the midst of war to aid the cause of peace." Is it ungracious to ask the question,—what has moved these persons for the first time in their lives to espouse the cause of peace? They know, but they will not speak. I know, and I will speak for them. They have come to aid the cause of peace, not for the sake of America, nor yet chiefly for the sake of peace, but primarily, if not solely, for the sake of *PAX GERMANICA*, a *peace that shall be made in Germany even as the war was made by Germany*.

These gentlemen, whose peace passion is rather recent and belated, long viewed with the equanimity of silence, if not with vocal satisfaction, the war that is, although the war today is not one whit more terrible than it was on the day the Prussian wreckers

of the world's peace battered down the gates of Belgium and flooded the land with a sea of terror. The war is more extensive in area but is not by one iota more awful than on the day which found the German armies, under the captaincy of the Prussian mind, desolating Belgium and France and beginning a Reign of Terror, which will justly move the world to give the Huns a second place by the side of the un pitying brutism of the Prussian hosts.

These improvisators in the symphony of peace were little disturbed by the fiendishness of the German army, the dishonor of German statesmanship, the ruthlessness of every step in the processes of Germany's war upon mankind. Therefore, we who were and are anti-militarists and have never been neutral as between Germany and a world at bay, we, who in the word of Professor Vernon Kellogg are not for war but for this war to a just end, we turn to these gentlemen of the People's Council,—one of whom grievously, and it may yet prove disastrously, misrepresents the mind of the American Jew,—and we say: You cry for peace and purport to be the People's Council. Which people do you represent? Not the American people! Not the British, nor the French, nor the Belgian, nor the Russian, nor the Servian, nor the Italian! The People's Council! You are the betrayers of the peoples of earth. God pity the peoples whose cause you feign to champion. Is it perhaps the German people? No, not even they, for you are not their friend as are we who would, and under God will, liberate them. If by any moral calamity the People's Council should gain the ascendancy in American life, the German people would

be perhaps forever enslaved by that Hohenzollernism whose doom under the heavens we have willed and spoken.

No, these gentlemen, the impromptu advocates of peace a la Bernstorff are not doing the will of Germany. Knowingly or unknowingly they are doing the will of Germany's imperial masters. They represent the people of Germany as little as they represent the people of the United States. As far as their participation therein is concerned, the People's Council might be given the sub-title,—*of Wilhelmstrasse*. If anything, this is a conspiracy against the people of Germany,—to perpetuate their bondage, to rivet a little tighter the Hohenzollern chains. After another generation, not Michaelis, not Luxemburg, not Kuhlmann nor a handful of their American coadjutors,—one of whom, I grieve to say, is a Jew, negligible in himself, but for one reason or another possessed of powerful friends and supporters in Jewish affairs,—will ever be cherished as the liberators of Germany as will be cherished Liebknecht the German and Woodrow Wilson the American.

The first, in a sense inclusive, demand of one of the authoritative spokesmen of the People's Council is "A speedy and universal and democratic peace." But this raises the fundamental question to which a new emphasis has been given by the President's reply to the Pope,—a reply that is not so much, as it has been called, a political coup as a spiritual achievement of the highest order. How can any terms of peace be considered as long as the present German government remains unshaken and peace must be concluded therewith? There was a time when it might have been asked,

—who will guarantee the good faith of the imperial masters of Germany bound up with the eternal infamy of the names, Liege and Louvain, the Lusitania and the Sussex, Cavell and Fryatt? Who can guarantee the good faith of any covenant made with the professors of the scrap-of-paper theory of treaties? That day has gone and gone forever. The Kaiser's *Wort* is become the villainy of Zimmermann, the perfidy of Luxburg, the shame of Bernstorff.

The only way to guarantee the good faith of any treaty made with the German government is to make no treaty with it that is not sealed by the German people after it shall have regained freedom. Let some of the leaders of the People's Council get into touch with the governments, if not the peoples, of the Central Powers, which governments ought not be inaccessible to them, and let these make clear that the world is resolved to make no peace with the German peoples as long as Kaiserism, uncontrolled and irresponsible, remains their accredited agent. They must give guarantees of good faith to the Allied peoples which guarantees Kaisers must be certified to be neither free nor able to repudiate.

Speedy, universal and democratic peace! Let us not be deceived. These terms are not interchangeable. Peace might be effected speedily and universally. If withal the peace be not democratic, it will not be worthy of the name of peace. That the peoples of earth desire peace, speedy and universal, is the veriest truism, for such yearning is born out of the travail and agony of three years of hell-like war. The one guarantee upon which the bleeding peoples must insist is that the peace shall be demo-

cratic, for none other can be just and lasting. *Kaisers broke peace and made war. The people must break Kaisers and make peace.*

The first urging of the authorized representative of the Peace Council was an immediate public statement of our war-aims and our peace-terms. The President has since made such a statement,—a statement instinct with the statemanship which the imperial German Government is unable to envisage, instinct with the magnanimity which it had confounded with all-suffering cowardice. None the less, in the light of the President's immortal utterance, which rather takes the matter alike out of the hands of the Kaiser and the People's Council, we may give more specific answer to some of the questions raised by and on behalf of the People's Council.

"Will we be ready to end the war and make peace if this ruthless submarine warfare be ended?" The war has long ceased to be a matter of ending ruthless submarine warfare. There will be no peace until the German people, disobedient to the Hohenzollern vision, are ready to end their *sub-human warfare*, ruthless and truthless, on sea and on land and in the air, against the peace and security of the world. It seems needless iteration to say to the spokesman of the People's Council, anent his sneer touching the making of the world safe for democracy, that what we are fighting for is nothing less than that high and majestic end. "What degree of safety do we require, and what degree of democracy will satisfy us?" Such a degree of safety is required that a renewal of the German imperial felony shall be impossible, such a degree of safety as shall be assured to the

world by the inability or the unwillingness of Germany to renew the crime of 1914, such a degree of democracy as can come only after the passing of Kaiserism, militarism, Junkerism.

What are we fighting for? The answer is best given by considering a further query, far from ingenuous, of the People's Council, "Is a military defeat of Germany absolutely essential before we shall agree to peace so that Germany and all men may know that Germany's militarism is not invincible?" Yes, we repeat, Germany and all men must know,—and Germany must prove that she knows,—that her militarism is not invincible by adopting such a policy of national renunciation as shall make clear her understanding, however sorrowful, that no nation against which the world must perforce unite is invincible. Far from achieving gains of territory and population and power, through assailing the sons and daughters of men and violating every scruple of the moral sense of mankind, the German people must come to see that German militarism has brought down upon her the loathing of the lawful and honorable peoples of earth, and may yet necessitate a concert of peoples in order to prevent the world being made unsafe for democracy and peace by reason of German autocracy and German militarism.

Germany must not only be compelled to realize that her militarism is far from invincible but this must be brought home in a Germanly understandable way. In a word, no gain of any kind must be suffered to accrue to Germany in consequence of the war. Not invincible and most unprofitable must German militarism be shown to be to the German

people. It is because of this that the evacuation of ravaged lands and the restoration of plundered goods will not suffice. If at the end of the war the Central European Alliance be established under Prussian domination, for one thing Prussia will have won a hundred Belgiums and Alsace-Lorraines, and over and beyond that the seed will have been planted which in the next generation will yield a harvest of bitter and bloody revolt against Prussian dominance by the alien, rather than Allied, peoples of Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. In a word, Prussia must not be permitted to reimburse itself for its failure in the West by annexing Central Europe. No gain or profit of any kind for Germany from this war,—must be Germany's fate as it is the decree of free peoples. Germany must long remain, as she is become, infinitely poorer by reason of the forfeiture of the world's respect, which nothing less than the exorcism of the devil of militarism shall ever regain for the purged soul of the Germans.

They, who speak with the authority of the People's Council, not alone urge that we must accept the peace program which more than anything else has divided, and, for a time in any event broken, Russia, but that it is incumbent upon us to take over the Russian program in its entirety because of its finer ethical quality. These friends neither of Russia nor of Russian freedom scornfully bid the American people remember "that the idealistic war-aims of the Russians must be made the war-aims of their Allies." I make bold to hold that no aims can be more idealistic than our own, not even the Russian war-aims, assuming that these were Russian rather than what they are,—namely,

of Prussian origin and Prussian imposition. The Russians at best are fighting for their own freedom primarily and only secondarily for the freedom of the world. We are warring primarily for the freedom of the world and only secondarily, if at all, for our own. They are the friends of Russia who understand that any alliance with the Hohenzollerns at this time would prove fatal to Russian freedom and democracy as has been the rule of the Romanoffs, with the difference that the Romanoff dynasty was blundering, ineffective and removable, but that it might take generations of bloodshed to dislodge the super-efficient rule of the Hohenzollerns. The Prussian alliance with the Romanoffs long delayed the day of Russian freedom. Let not Russia again invite Prussia to become,—her evil star.

Happily, the Russian people do not require to be warned against the insidious counsel of Prussian agents, whether in Germany or in these United States,—that they must choose between Prussia on the one hand, and England, France, Italy and these United States on the other. If they choose Prussia, they will go back to autocracy. If they choose the Allied nations, they will take their place in the march of triumphant democracy. If the Russians choose Prussia, they will have neither peace nor democracy. If they and we stand together, Russia's will be democracy and peace will be the portion of all free peoples. If Russia, I repeat, should part from her Allies, these will go on, but Russian freedom and democracy will for a time in any event go out. And Russia will have been betrayed not for the first time by the wiles and power of Prussia. The House of Romanoff appears not to be alone in its

readiness to sacrifice Russian well-being upon the altar of Prussian purpose.

What is this German-manufactured peace program to which when we are told "Would to heaven that this were Germany's program for peace," we are tempted to reply,—“Why drag in heaven?” For in truth this is not Russia's heavenly peace program but Germany's hell-born war-aim. The People's Council of Peace and Democracy offers its approval of the so-called peace terms of the Russian Republic. “No forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities, free development of all nations and peoples and nationalities.” “No forcible annexations!” We understand the English of it, but what is the Prussian of the term, “No forcible annexations?” Even if it were true, as it is false, that the resolutions of the Reichstag commit Germany, as far as Germany is committable, to the acceptance of “No forcible annexations,” such of the world as is guided by the instinct of honor and truthfulness will rightly demand that Prussia define in unequivocal and unmistakable terms, “No forcible annexations.” The German government may conceive that the permanent occupancy of Belgium, or the choicest parts thereof, would not constitute “forcible annexation,” but rather peaceable permeation. Who besides the leaders of the People's Council will presume to guarantee that the retention of Belgium will not come under the category of a much-used term in Prussia,—“the rectification of the Western frontier,” that is the obviating of a neighbor inconveniently faithful to a plighted covenant? Germany wills not to annex. She merely aims to bless, to be surrounded by morally rapeable neighbors such as broken little Luxembourg or Switzerland, Holland and Sweden.

But the German Chancellor, with strange disregard of the niceties of relationship to one's allies and defenders in belligerent countries, has refrained from endorsing the program of the People's Council, "No forcible annexations." His word is "The fate of Belgium must be left to the hands of our negotiators;" and our word to him and through him to the people to whom he is nominally responsible is, "As long as you speak of Belgium in the terms of negotiation, no American who is not ready to palter with American honor will mention the word peace. Preliminary and unconditional must be the evacuation of Belgium, the restoration of the land and reparation to its tragically suffering people." As long as Germany and her rulers speak of Belgium's fate in the terms of future negotiation, we cannot meet to consider peace, for there is no language which we can speak in common. We are in truth ready to sacrifice much, to invest all we have and all we are, the treasure of the nation and the priceless life of its sons. Yea, there is no sacrifice that we will not offer up ere we shall suffer Germany to hold a foot of Belgium soil, to retain any power tangible or intangible over Belgium with the freedom of which the honor of free peoples is bound up.

For yet another reason, "No forcible annexations" does not meet the needs of the world's situation as we see it. For "No forcible annexations," even assuming that it imply the restoration of Belgium to itself, has no reference whatsoever to the question of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine must be restored to France as truly as Belgium must be restored to itself. The restitution of stolen goods is not in courts of law considered cruelly punitive but elementarily just. Al-

sace-Lorraine, apart from the agony endured by its people for forty years, was the price which Prussia offered the kingdoms and peoples of Germany for their acquiescence in the Imperial hegemony of Prussia, for their assent to the program of blood and iron,—that is the looting of lands and the blood-letting of their peoples.

To the representative of the People's Council, who with an almost Prussian sense of reality and a wholly Prussian scorn of the immaterial asks: "Have we gone to war to help France get back her lost Provinces, and are we committed to the theory of restoring all provinces lost in the past fifty years?" I answer: "No, we did not go to war to help France get back her lost provinces, for France refrained for forty years from attempting to right the unspeakable wrong which the world suffered Prussia to inflict upon France. While we have not gone to war to help France get back her lost provinces, we are not going to have peace until the shameful deed of 1871 be undone, until the crime, which wrested two lands and two peoples from the France of their imperishable love and put them under the heel of that foreign brutality which culminated in Zabern, shall have been expiated by the return of inalienable Alsace-Lorraine from the hands of Prussia to the arms of France.

To the spokesman of the People's Council, it appears to be highly undesirable "to embark upon the complicated enterprise of restoring lost provinces," and that "all territorial readjustments must be secured through negotiation." We must be permitted to dissent from the designation, "the complicated enterprise of restoring lost provinces" and to say that nothing could

be simpler than the enterprise of restoring stolen not lost provinces, provinces as wantonly ravaged from France in 1871 as Belgium was ravished in 1914. It is not without significance that the voice of the People's Council anticipates the decree of a Prussian master. "All territorial readjustments must be secured through negotiation." Let it be understood alike by the People's Council of Prussia and the Michaelises and Kuhlmanns of the United States that evacuation, reparation and restoration are beyond the reach of negotiation until that hour, which will never come, that shall find the American people wearied of sacrifice in order to reaffirm the freedom even of the least of peoples.

The People's Council, with an indifference to the wrongs perpetrated by Prussia that is born either of cynical levity or an insufficiently disguised Prussian sympathy, reaffirms the "No punitive indemnities" of the quasi-Russian peace plan. With appalling disingenuousness this aim is linked with the word of the President: "We desire no conquest and no dominion. We seek no indemnity for ourselves, no material compensation." For one thing, it is of the very essence of insincerity to allude to indemnity as if it were of necessity punitive. Moreover, it is known of all men that we shall never stoop to demand indemnity nor defile ourselves by taking over any measure of Germany's gold. We, however, are not circumstanced as are Serbia and Belgium. These are entitled not merely to evacuation and to restoration, but to that indemnity which the super-refined and Teutonically delicate taste of the People's Council may look upon as punitive, which an unvindictive world will view as justified by

every instinct of right feeling alike toward Germany and the peoples which she has brought low.

As for the third item of the program, "The free development of all nations and peoples and nationalities,"—to offer this in the name of Prussia is a sorry jest. The very corner-stone of the Prussian structure of State is none other than a complete and wanton disregard for the freedom of nations and peoples unless these are physically strong enough to maintain their own freedom. A German victory, happily become unthinkable, would mean the end of freedom for every nation and people that was not able to secure it through the arbitrament of the sword. Germany is warring upon the world, and the world, including our nation, has accepted the gage of battle because all men, who are not in thrall to Teutonism, understand that the triumph of German arms would end freedom and self-rule for every lesser people that did not bow the knee in the Temple of the new Rimmon. For it is incontestibly true that the German government has ceased to revere right as right. It obeys no law but that of might; it honors no sanction save that of power; it reveres no shrine unless it be a fortress.

In maintaining as we do that the policies of the People's Council, if accepted by Americans, would inflict untold hurt not only upon Prussia's bleeding victims but upon the moral fabric which up to this time has withstood the storm of war, I point out and literally cite utterance after utterance of an authorized spokesman of the People's Council. The People's Council is for the most part guilty of a blundering moral judgment which vitiates every counsel that it may choose to offer the nations. The People's Council

is neutral as between Germany and Belgium, between Austria and Servia, between Turkey and Armenia. The American people have long since ceased to be neutral as between Germany and the nations upon which she is waging war. The People's Council deals with this war as if it were "just a war," "another war," as if it were another of history's mighty conflicts in the interest of territorial aggrandizement or trade opportunity, as if Germany and England, Germany and France, being alike at war,—these nations were equally guilty of the unspeakable crime of war.

Is further proof required of the moral neutrality of the People's Council, which moral neutrality was indefensible even during that time in which neutrality of action was officially enjoined, than the proposal of the representative of the People's Council that there be "an international assumption of the expense of reconstructing devastated areas in Europe, a large proportion to be borne by the United States in return for guarantees of future peace." Such "international assumption" would be thinkable in a world which had surrendered to Prussian arms or been subdued to Prussian aims. But nothing less than Prussian triumph could ever necessitate so basely craven a solution of a war problem. That many, if not all, of the leaders of the People's Council view the Teutonic and the Allied nations as equally responsible for the world disaster is witnessed by the use of the phrase "the imperialistic ambitions of the belligerents" "be they called autocracies or democracies," as if this war were the result of clashing "imperialist ambitions,"—a phrase, which in truth points not to moral neutrality but to the condonation of all that Prussia has done and the

condemnation of the Allied powers, irrespective of guilt or innocence.

Nothing interprets the mind of the People's Council better than a word of its accredited champion, seemingly innocuous but in truth charged with the poison of ill-will and bitterness toward those European nations, that thwarted the lawless and dastardly conspiracy of the imperial German government. "We know how futile all wars are, this one among them." Futile, forsooth! The war of 1871 was not futile. It was an immeasurable triumph for the new Germany created by the mind of Bismarck and fortified by arms under the leadership of von Moltke. The war of 1914 would not have been futile if England unconquerable and France all-glorious had not stepped into the breach and by the side of little Belgium with bared and bleeding body have withstood the most foul and fiendish assault upon the peace of the world that has ever been made. This war, viewing the ambition of imperial Germany, will be futile because our Allies and we have willed that futile it shall be. It will not be futile if the American people commit the inexpiable moral blunder of bargaining and trafficking with Germany touching the fate of any of the lands German-invaded.

The American people will give scant hearing to any unpaid servant of Kaiserism possessed of such imperturbable moral serenity as to look upon this world-war and to speak of it as nothing more than futile. In truth, if futile it happily prove, it will be because of the righteous and holy wrath, not shared by the People's Council, which the godlessness and inhumanity of Germany's deeds has aroused among such Americans as are not serenely indifferent to the supreme moral

factors of the international strife. They can do little for peace and democracy who speak and act with regard to the war as if two bands of ruffians were causelessly scrimmaging in the streets, as if nothing more were at stake than the outcome of a futile struggle between two equally guilty war-groups. They can little serve either peace or democracy who are indifferent to the origins of a war, which is nothing less than a mightily and all but irresistibly organized assault upon the right of the lesser peoples to choose their own way of life instead of having it made in Germany for them.

I charge the People's Council with inability or unwillingness to understand the majestic purposes of the President in moving to make the world safe for democracy as revealed by its word, "The Peace Conference will be convened as soon as the German people move on from the measure of democracy they now have to the measure of democracy which the President thinks they ought to have." The question is not one of the measure of democracy which the German people have, for they have none, even though they have been deluded anew by their imperial masters into prating of the democracy by them enjoyed. Nor is the issue bound up with "the measure of democracy which the President thinks they ought to have,"—a fling at the august aims of the President of which no man concerned with the attainment of democratic ideals by any people could be guilty. It is not that the President thinks the German people ought to have a larger measure of democracy. The German people might be free to go on under the autocratic conditions which are their own, were it not for the circumstance to be

commended to the People's Council that it is because of the absence of democratic control in Germany that the world is in arms today. If Germany could be isolated from the rest of the world, it might remain undisturbed in its autocracy forever. A Germany that would dwell by the side of free peoples must free itself to the point of denying to any man or group of men the right and the power to stage such a dire tragedy as has befallen the sons of men by reason of the unchecked power of a group of imperial dynasts.

The People's Council affirms that the "basis of peace as outlined by the President are substantially agreed to by all the belligerents." That may be the Prussian, but is not the English of it. This statement is one which proves, alas, that the debasement or Germanization of the mind of men is a phenomenon not limited to German-speaking lands. "Substantially agreed to,"—granting of course that the restoration and enfranchisement of Belgium are not of the substance of the issue at stake!

Knowing as we do that the voice of a great organ of German opinion,—“Neither Hindenburg nor the Emperor is minded to deprive himself of the fruits of victory by adhering to the surface-meaning of the resolution adopted in the Reichstag,”—has not ceased to embody the mind of Germany, to hold that the bases of peace as outlined by the President are substantially agreed to by all the belligerents is of a piece with that solicitude for the well-being of the Kaiser which moves the People's Council nervously and fearfully to insist, “The President's message does not call for the dethronement of the Kaiser despite newspaper headings, nor of any of the present rulers of Germany;”

is of a piece with that insincerity that deprecates "the suppressing of Stockholms and such other international meetings of non-governmental representatives as the peoples themselves may arrange," when it is known of all men that Stockholm was but one skirmish in the Prussian peace-drive which would have menaced anew rather than have safeguarded the freedom and integrity of peoples; is of a piece with that un-American if not anti-American attitude which suffers the People's Council to proclaim, "certainly these political changes in Germany, in America, in every land of the world are essential," as if the German autocracy and the American Republic were in the same need of democratization. Any man who directly or by indirection alludes to political changes in Germany and America looking toward democratization as if these were equally needed in both lands has morally forfeited the priceless dignity of American citizenship.

What are we fighting for? I have sought to give answer. I have not spoken without regard to such mothers and fathers as have heard me nor been unmindful of the heartbreak which the war will soon come to mean to men and women scattered throughout the land, the light of whose eyes will have failed and the joy of whose hearts will have faded forever if the war go forward to its awful consummation of loss and sacrifice. What are we fighting for? My answer to mothers and fathers is,—enviable, even glorious, is your lot if you give your sons or bless their self-dedication to the highest and holiest of causes in which a people was ever engaged.

Remember that you, American men and women, give your sons to no ordinary war, though outwardly

it be war and nothing more. Remember that America is not in the war for the sake of war. Grimly mocking paradox though it be, we have taken up the burden of war not for war's sake but for the sake of peace, which we would fain have bless victor and vanquished alike. We have taken up arms, which we shall not ground until the world be made safe in the only way in which the life of nations dwelling together can be made safe—by democracy with peace and healing on its wings.

Remember, mothers and fathers, this is not a war. It is the war. It is the contest of the ages, which we and our Allies together can make the last holocaust if we be mighty in war and even mightier in the generousities and magnanimities of peace. Your sons have taken up arms not to slay but to bring the hope of unbroken life to countless generations unborn. As your sons fare forth, be strong, mothers and fathers, in the knowledge that the sacrificial task upon which they are bent is nothing less than to make the world free. If suffering and agony be your lot, call to mind the little children of Armenia, the wronged women of Belgium, the enslaved men of Servia, and know that these things can never again come to pass if your sons, our younger brothers, be equal to the challenge which a free world dare not refuse to meet.

And when you join in the act of sacrifice, let your spirit be willing and even joyous as befits the task that summons. Forget not that the sacrifice is to be for that which is more precious than life, even as holy as love,—the liberty of men, the security of peace, the faith of nations. Your readiness to sacrifice may make sacrifice unasked hereafter and your children's children, yea all the children of men, shall dwell amid

peace and security if the nobleness of the fathers be equal to the heroism of the sons.

It is not too late to save the world, to make and keep the world free, to rebuild an order of life that shall be just and righteous altogether. That shall come to pass if you claim for your sons something better than life, remembering,

“’Twere man’s perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.”

Lincoln loved not war,—nor more than we,—who loved humanity as few men on earth have loved mankind, nor more than Woodrow Wilson, who endured all for peace until he must needs dare war therefor. And Lincoln on the 4th day of March, 1865, as the shadows were beginning to darken around him after four long, terrible, bloody years of war, said, and we the heirs of his spirit and of his hope proclaim anew: “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in,—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace.”

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